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A SERIES OF MANUALS FOR CATHOLIC
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THE RIGHT REV. MGR. BERNARD WARD

PRESIDENT OF ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE,

AND

THE REV. HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

“The Word of God is not bound.”—2 TIM. ii. 9.

“Let us seek therefore in our own, and from our own, and concerning our own; and that only which can be brought into question without touching the rule of faith.”—TERTULL., *De Præscript.*

“Read the Divine Scriptures often; yea, never be the sacred volume laid out of hand; learn that which thou teachest; let the discourse of the priest be seasoned with the reading of the Scriptures.”—ST. JEROME TO NEPOTIAN.

“All Holy Scripture should be read in the spirit in which it was written.”—*The Imitation of Christ.*

THE TRADITION OF SCRIPTURE

ITS ORIGIN, AUTHORITY AND
INTERPRETATION

BY

VERY REV. WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

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WESTMONASTERII

OSCOTT COLLEGE,
BIRMINGHAM, 22nd April, 1908.

MY DEAR CANON,

I have read very carefully all the proposed alterations and additions for the forthcoming edition of *The Tradition of Scripture*, and not only are they free from anything to which theological exception could be taken, but they will even enhance the utility of the volume by putting Catholic students of Scripture in possession of the latest pronouncements of the Holy See on that subject.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

J. McINTYRE,

Censor Deputatus.

EDITORS' PREFACE

THIS series of Handbooks is designed to meet a need, which, the Editors believe, has been widely felt, and which results in great measure from the predominant importance attached to Dogmatic and Moral Theology in the studies preliminary to the Priesthood. That the first place must of necessity be given to these subjects will not be disputed. But there remains a large outlying field of professional knowledge which is always in danger of being crowded out in the years before ordination, and the practical utility of which may not be fully realised until some experience of the ministry has been gained. It will be the aim of the present series to offer the sort of help which is dictated by such experience, and its developments will be largely guided by the suggestions, past and future, of the Clergy themselves. To provide Textbooks for Dogmatic Treatises is not contemplated—at any rate not at the outset. On the other hand, the pastoral work of the missionary priest will be kept constantly in view, and the series will also deal with those historical and liturgical aspects of Catholic

belief and practice which are every day being brought more into prominence.

That the needs of English-speaking countries are, in these respects, exceptional, must be manifest to all. In point of treatment it seems desirable that the volumes should be popular rather than scholastic, but the Editors hope that by the selection of writers, fully competent in their special subjects, the information given may always be accurate and abreast of modern research.

The kind approval of this scheme by His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, in whose Diocese these manuals are edited, has suggested that the series should be introduced to the public under the general title of THE WESTMINSTER LIBRARY. It is hoped, however, that contributors may also be found among the distinguished Clergy of Ireland and America, and that the Westminster Library will be representative of Catholic scholarship in all English-speaking countries.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

WERE the Bible lost, it has been said with not more energy than truth, we might recover its text from the writings of our Catholic Fathers and mediæval Schoolmen. Their works, which fill great libraries, are made up to a large extent of commentaries on Scripture, and are everywhere steeped in its language and ideas. Beginning with St. Clement of Rome, St. Justin, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria,—from about 95 A.D. to the first decade of the third century,—we find the Old Testament quoted in all parts of the Church, and the New gradually acknowledged. Clement of Alexandria was Origen's master; and that highly gifted man († 254), whose very mistakes and extravagances were due to a zeal for the faith, spent his life in transcribing the Bible (see what is left of his Hexapla) or in its defence and exposition. The African Church, if it did not produce, yet received from an early date (before 200 A.D.) the Old Latin Version celebrated by Tertullian, used by St. Cyprian and St. Augustine. Turning to the Eastern Church, we perceive that the Septuagint was familiar to all its

divisions from the Apostles' days; the labours of Eusebius of Cæsarea (260-340) in publishing copies of the New Testament are well known; St. Athanasius in Egypt, SS. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, in Asia Minor, St. Cyril at Jerusalem, were constant readers of the Bible, and employed it on every occasion to defeat the rising heresies. Like Alexandria, the Syrian capital Antioch became a school of Scripture exegesis, from which proceeded St. John Chrysostom († 407), Theodoret, and the Nestorians, whose "Great Commentator" was Theodore of Mopsuestia. But the Nestorians were opposed by St. Cyril of Alexandria, and his tomes consist of a theology drawn from Holy Writ.

The golden age of Antioch lies between 400 and 450. Its earlier stage was contemporaneous in the West with St. Jerome (about 340-420) and St. Augustine (354-430). To the spiritual and dogmatic sense of Scripture the controversies of his time led St. Augustine, who did not cultivate the apparatus of criticism. But St. Jerome was a critic in the modern sense. Well nigh forty years (from 382) were consumed by this indefatigable pen in translating the originals from Hebrew and Greek into Latin, correcting the old version where it could not, for liturgical reasons, be given up, and explaining the text as it stood. St. Jerome is the literalist, St. Augustine the dogmatist, St. Chrysostom the ethical teacher, who excel the rest of

Antiquity and under whose guidance Holy Scripture has ever since their time been interpreted by orthodox Christians.

For the Middle Ages St. Gregory the Great, St. Bernard, St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure are representative men. But the undying merit of those thousand years consists in the fact that by devout monks and nuns the very words of Scripture were preserved to us in beautiful manuscripts such as, towards their close, on the eve of the Renaissance, Thomas à Kempis left for our use and admiration. Catholic doctrine stayed itself on the Bible; preaching went back to it; Missal and Breviary, Pontifical rites and Papal documents and Canon Law were efforts on a grand scale to digest its teachings and apply them. Catholic art drew its favourite subjects from Holy Writ; the literature, proverbs, and daily conversation of all classes during this long period, show that Christians were familiar with its narratives in a striking degree. From the paintings which are still extant in Roman Catacombs to the mosaics of St. Mark's Venice or the Cappella Palatina in Palermo; from the Primitive religious schools of Siena, Florence, Cologne, Holland; as well as from every phase of ecclesiastical architecture down to the "Bible of Amiens" and the frescoes of the Sistine, it is evident that eyes, mind, and heart could take their fill of the inspired story. Learning and sanctity wielded pen, pencil, chisel, brush, every instrument which conveys thought

or evokes beauty, in order that God's written word should be known and loved. The Middle Ages had their Bible in stone, on illuminated parchment, in stained glass. It was delivered from the lips of popular preachers, reflected in the poetry of the *Heliland*, of Dante, of Frà Jacopo, expounded on the walls, gates, and pavements of innumerable Churches. It was recited in monasteries day and night, quoted in Parliaments, rhymed and sung by minstrels, so that never perhaps was it more universally known.

The oldest version in a Western vernacular, though not complete, was the Mæso-Gothic of Ulfilas (311-381). No other goes back beyond the eighth century. The earliest appear to be Old English,—St. Aldhelm and King Alfred translated the Psalter; Ven. Bede the Gospel of St. John, Aelfric the Pentateuch and various books of the Old Testament. The Gospels were frequently rendered into English. It is certain that many portions of Scripture were read in the different French dialects long before the complete translations under St. Louis IX. (about 1250) and Charles V. († 1380). Guyars des Moulins gave a famous rendering of the Vulgate historical books between 1291-1297. Germany, like France and England, had its rhyming paraphrases; but its version of the Gospels was, it would appear, ancient, perhaps of ninth century; while Notker († 1022) and Abbot Williram († 1085) were responsible for the Psalms. Be-

tween 1200-1500 many partial German versions saw the light. Danes, Swedes, Norwegians had their own texts more or less complete. SS. Cyril and Methodius founded the Slavic Bible in the ninth century. To Alfonso V. in 1270 the Spanish version is attributed by Mariana; the first printed Spanish Bible (1478) follows a rendering of Bonifaz Ferrer († 1417), brother of St. Vincent. The earliest Italian translation, according to Sixtus of Siena, came from the hand of Jacobus de Voragine, author of the *Golden Legend*, and Archbishop of Genoa († 1298); the printed copy, edited by Malermi at Venice, 1471, went through nine impressions before 1500. The Hungarians received Psalms, Sunday Gospels and Epistles soon after their conversion; the whole Bible was done into Magyar by L. Bathyani († 1456). St. Hedwige, Queen of Poland, set on foot a Polish translation towards the end of thirteenth century, parts of which still remain. In the fifteenth century Bohemian codices of Scripture were plentiful. After printing was invented, the first German Bible came out in 1462; twenty editions of the whole followed down to 1520 in Upper Germany, four in Lower. Ninety Plenaria (Sunday Gospels and Epistles), fourteen Psalters, two Apocalypses must be added.

All this vast literature was founded on the Latin Vulgate, though in the second half of the thirteenth century an attempt was made by some English scholars to translate from the

original Hebrew. The Franciscans appear to have been especially interested in this movement. Their Roger Bacon suffered on its behalf; his friend, William de Mara (it is thought), was author of a "Correctorium," based on the Massorah; and Nicholas de Lyra, who was a sound Hebrew scholar, as well as a severe literalist, came from the Friars Minor († 1340). But critical studies were, in those days, premature. Returning to the Vulgate, we observe that no fewer than ninety-eight complete editions were printed between 1456 and 1500. Half a dozen folio impressions were sent out before a single Latin classic found its way into type.¹

The Reformation, which traced its pedigree from Waldensians, Wycliffe, and the Hussites, brought in fresh dangers to the unlearned, and made use of Scripture that it might overthrow the Church. A new discipline as regarded study of the Bible was set up by the Council of Trent (sess. iv., v.), which, however, did not forbid the reading or translation of Scripture in the vulgar tongue. But the Index of Paul IV., the Spanish Inquisition, and the secular authorities were unfavourable to freedom. Paul IV. prohibited all translations; Pius IV. relaxed this rule, and Benedict XIV. (1757) allowed them if under lawful authority made and issued. Pius VI. gave solemn approval to the new Italian

¹ Malou, *Lect. de la S. Bible*; Cornely, *Introd. Gen.*, 480-84; *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, i. 590-91, 639, 640.

rendering of Martini, Archbishop of Florence (1776-1781). In Spanish dominions an exaggerated view of the Vulgate had been widely prevalent. Yet vernacular translations continued to appear. The French of Le Fèvre d'Étaples (1523-1528) was corrected by Louvain theologians in 1550, and reprinted more than fifty times down to 1700; other French Catholic versions, but some tinged with Jansenism (De Sacy, corrected by Dom Calmet, O.S.B. ; Quesnel's New Testament condemned in the Bull *Unigenitus* by Clement XI., etc.), bring us on to the Bible de Vence, and in recent times to that of J. B. Glaire, which last is now the one in use, with Roman approbation for the New Testament. The English Douay Bible and Rheims New Testament (latter, 1582; both Testaments, 1609) have a long and complicated history, which cannot be given here. The Bohemian Catholics read a text issued by the Jesuit Fathers at Prague in 1677; the Poles have a version dated Cracow, 1599, with approval of Gregory XIV. and Clement VIII. New Spanish and Portuguese versions were undertaken shortly before the French Revolution (the former by Scio, 1790-1794; the latter by Pereira, 1778-1794). Among Germans, the New Testament of Beringer is dated 1526; Dietenberger's "Catholic Bible" was the common text during nearly two centuries; and various others appeared. But the version now favoured is chiefly that of Allioli, which translates the

Vulgate and marks original Hebrew or Greek readings in the notes.¹

As regards textual criticism, it may be noted that Origen's parallel Old Testament was a mighty effort in this direction. St. Jerome had Hebrew texts before him older by centuries than the Massoretic which we now possess; and his Greek, by which the Latin New Testament was revised, probably contained readings superior in age to those of our Sinaitic and Vatican MSS. Of the Complutensian Polyglot, printed in 1514, it has been said: "No praise is too high for the design of Ximenes; and, as regards the execution, it is doubtful whether the best scholarship of all Europe, had it been mustered at Alcalà, could have produced a much better result". The Septuagint which it reproduced was not from the most correct sources. In 1587, under Sixtus V., the LXX. appeared at Rome, from the Vatican MS., which edition held its ground until quite recently. It ought not to be forgotten that the Hebrew text of Soncino (1477-1488) came out with episcopal approbation; and that the Rabbinic Bible, published by Felix Pratensis at Venice in 1517, was dedicated to Leo X. The Fathers of Trent had been desirous that a critical edition of the Vulgate should be taken in hand. This difficult enterprise, spread over thirty years and more, was brought to an issue in the Sixtine and Clemen-

¹ Cornely, *ut supra*, 484-89; Vigouroux, *Man. Bib.*, i. 261; for Douay Bible, see Essays by Wiseman and Newman; also Pref. to St. Luke by Ward.

tine Bible (1590-1592), but scholars now demand a recension which may avail itself of all modern facilities and appliances.¹

These historical observations will suffice to prove that Holy Church has always kept the written Word in her hands, while meditating on its divine sense. A large volume would be required if we were simply recording the names and works of modern commentators, among whom Maldonatus, Estius, Cornelius a Lapide, Calmet hold eminent positions. But it has never been the Catholic teaching that for every one to read Holy Scripture is of obligation; and to maintain that without such general reading the Faith cannot be truly apprehended, or eternal life secured, is a doctrine so remarkable that few can seriously believe in it, though often urged for controversial ends. At the same time, a devout study of the sacred writings, with prayer and humble submission to the guardians of the faith, has been highly commended by the Fathers, as by spiritual guides like Thomas à Kempis; and in our days Leo XIII. has bestowed on the daily practice of it indulgences from the Church's treasury. St. Augustine, indeed, reminds us that a Christian may be perfect in faith, hope and charity, who is yet unlearned in the Bible. But St. Jerome, considering the duty of teachers, lays it down that "he who knows not the Scriptures knows not the power and wisdom of God". Leo XIII. concludes: "It is our wish

¹ *Cambr. Mod. Hist.*, i. 602-4; Cornely, *ut supra*, 460-80.

and desire that those especially whom God's grace has called to holy orders, should spend more and more diligence and industry on the reading, meditation and exposition of Holy Writ".¹

The present little sketch is offered as an aid to our hard-worked clergy, to students in our Seminaries, and to Catholic laymen who would fulfil these admonitions of the Fathers and the Church. Its limits do not allow many points of interest to be touched upon; scarcely does it contain more than the outlines or elements of an inexhaustible subject. For lack of space the Conciliar and Papal documents are not quoted at length; they must be sought in the well-known collections. The Latin Vulgate should be always at hand. It is, in substance, translated in our "Douay" Bible; but of this work the text has undergone so many revisions that we cannot now look upon it as a single authorised edition, and its verbal composition is far from stereotyped. Translations, accordingly, in the following pages are not uniform; reasons, literary or critical, have determined their particular use; and they must always be compared with our Vulgate readings. It is particularly recommended that all Scripture references not quoted *in extenso* should be

¹ Aug., *De Doct. Christ.*, i. 43; Jerome, *in Isa.* Prolog.: Leo XIII., *Provid. Deus.*

looked out. Whatever is taken from non-Catholic sources, whether as regards text or interpretation, stands on its own merits, and is, of course, only approved so far as it agrees with orthodox tradition, or is compatible with it. References in the notes do not in any way signify that the present writer holds opinions thereby indicated. Original quotations from Hebrew, Greek, or German not entering into the scope of this volume are omitted. But it has appeared desirable that the common English forms of Scriptural names should be retained, to facilitate research and in accordance with Archbishop Kenrick's usage. When more than one is given, it follows the Greek as well as the Hebrew.

Between diverse and contending views the writer has not presumed to judge, wherever it seemed to him that authority left them free. Should his language at any time sound too categorical, he begs it will be taken as not meaning more than literary emphasis. He has endeavoured to suggest, so far as he was acquainted with them, opinions held by Catholic scholars who by their learning, piety, and station, are among approved commentators on Holy Scripture. But there was less need to quote the more ancient, whose sentiments are familiar to us, than contemporaries, and especially such as have combined with textual erudition or archæological research an inquiry into the dogmatic bearing of criticism, as it is now handled.

What we require most of all, it would appear, is exactly to grasp and carefully to systematise our new knowledge. If anything shall be done to help a consummation so much sought after, by the fragmentary, yet as he hopes not altogether inaccurate, review which is here attempted, the author will bear more patiently with its many imperfections. He cannot but observe that certain of the latest conjectures, both as regards the history of Israel and the relation of our Lord's teaching to the Church's dogma, seem, after his best efforts to understand them, so impossible to reconcile with Christian principles, that he has left them untouched. For the proved results of sound textual criticism, confirmed as they often have been by discoveries in archæology, we cannot but feel grateful to Providence. And no less when the monuments, thus brought out of darkness into light, correct the hasty views of some scholars, too apt in their libraries to picture the world of which our documents bear record, as though it were like their own. Documents and monuments, fairly treated, illustrate one another ; they help us, when duly combined, to a deeper acquaintance with the truth which our sacred writers have wished to convey ; and the lesson of a well-balanced Higher Criticism cannot fail to be edifying.

Hearty thanks are due to the Rev. W. H. Kent, O.S.C., who has not only read these pages in his quality of Censor with indulgence, but has contributed valuable references to Tal-

mudic and Patristic sources. Other friends have kindly furnished volumes which were not accessible. Father H. Thurston, S.J., has given much time amid his pressing duties to the proof-sheets and references, greatly to the advantage of the book and its compiler. From the ever-growing bibliography a selection has been made in proportion to the aims that were throughout kept in view of exhibiting the latest orthodox criticism, and at the same time indicating the trend of recent discussions outside the Church. Should thought or language fail to harmonise with accredited Catholic teaching, it is beforehand retracted and disowned.

WILLIAM BARRY.

DORCHESTER, OXFORD,

Aug. 5, 1905.

In Festo Stæ Mariæ ad Nives,

ADVERTISEMENT TO SECOND EDITION

SINCE these pages were issued the Holy See has dealt with various questions touching Holy Scripture, by answers through the Biblical Commission of which the substance will be found in its place ; likewise by the Syllabus of condemned propositions, "*Lamentabili*," dated July 3, 1907 ; and in the Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius X., "*Pascendi dominici gregis*," of September 8, 1907. A commission has been appointed to collect materials for revising the Vulgate text.

All that follows here must be construed in the light of these authoritative documents, to which every Catholic owes submission. The writer would lay stress yet again on his attitude towards opinions reported, as being purely that of one who describes them without interposing his private judgment, or taking on him the responsibility which those have to sustain that put them forward. Outside the directions of the Holy See it has been neither his wish nor his purpose to travel. Accordingly, he professes in particular no views regarding authorship, composition, dates,

or contents of any part of Scripture which go beyond what has been laid down by the Church's teaching, whether in Conciliar decrees or in Papal and Roman utterances. The rest, in what way soever quoted, is merely *ad eruditionem*; it is matter for learning, not the subject of assent.

To the Very Rev. Canon McIntyre, D.D., Professor of Holy Scripture at St. Mary's College, Oscott, special acknowledgments are here tendered, as to an old friend and pupil, for his great kindness in reading over the revised sheets and giving them his "Nihil Obstat". Of course, it is well understood that in doing so Canon McIntyre does not make himself answerable for any of the views put forward by private persons, or by the author (if such there be), in matters open to discussion.

Some improvements are made in the bibliography, owing to suggestions which have reached me from various friendly sources. Changes have also taken place in the text to provide for the terms of those recent decisions by which Catholics are bound to be guided. The concluding paragraphs which deal with the Pentateuch and St. John's Gospel exhibit their chief points; other verbal alterations follow, so as to bring the whole up to the present time. No new space has been allotted to criticism of the destructive method or the rationalistic principles which certain late writers have borrowed from Protestant sources, and which the Supreme Pontiff has condemned. For the rule of faith with which these methods

cannot be reconciled, is drawn out in the first twenty-seven pages; and in the Preface (xviii) they were discarded by anticipation.

WILLIAM BARRY.

ST. PETER'S, LEAMINGTON,
Easter, 1908.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Catholic Bible.—That collection of ancient writings which we term the Bible, or “the Books,” by reason of their divine origin and religious authority, may be defined as the volume which the Catholic Church recognises to be inspired of God and committed to her keeping. Its two chief divisions, the Old and New Testaments (in Hebrew strictly “Covenants,” by extension from 2 Kings xxiii. 21), are the Book of Israel and the Book of Christianity.¹ But this latter supposes and includes the former, which leads up to it by a series of historical events and by the prophetic teaching. The whole forms a “sacred library,” determined as regards its contents, limits, interpretation, and force of law, by the Society which claims to be at once its guardian and its exponent. Such is the Catholic Bible as we contemplate it in these pages.

Fathers on Catholic Tradition—Westerns.—A few citations from early Christian witnesses will bring out our meaning more decisively. The Greek word “Bible,” applied however to the Old Testament only, occurs for the first time in a Homily ascribed to St. Clement of Rome, but dating more probably from the years 120-140 A.D.: “I do not suppose ye are ignorant,” says the writer, “that the living Church is the body of Christ; for the Scripture saith ‘God made man, male and female’. The male is Christ and the female is

¹ “Covenant” is a better form than “arrangement,” suggested by Kautzsch (Hastings, *D.B.*, Extra Volume, 630), and to be retained.

the Church. And the Books (τὰ βιβλία) and the Apostles plainly declare that the Church existeth not now for the first time, but hath been from the beginning."¹ Again, St. Irenæus of Lyons (140-202?): "Paul says that 'God hath set in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers'. Where, then, the gifts of God have been set, there we must learn the truth from them with whom is the succession from the Apostles. . . . For these guard our faith, both that which is towards God who made all things, and that which is towards the Son of God . . . and they expound the Scriptures to us without peril, neither blaspheming God, nor dishonouring the Patriarchs, nor despising the Prophets."² Hence Irenæus condemns the Gnostics by turning to "the rule of truth" and the tradition of the Churches; especially that of "the greatest, most ancient, and known to all, founded and established by two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul at Rome. . . . For to this Church, on account of its more eminent primacy, every Church, that is to say, those who are everywhere faithful, must have resort." Elsewhere he insists that "true revelation (γνώσις ἀληθής) is the teaching of the Apostles . . . according to the succession of bishops . . . the full treatment of the Scriptures which has come down to us by a guardianship in which there is no guile".³ This great Bishop, who witnesses to one and the same standard of belief in Gaul, Asia Minor, and Italy, is the defender of Catholic tradition against every attempt to mutilate or misinterpret the Written Word. According to his repeated arguments, the *charisma veritatis* cannot be divided from the episcopal unity and the Apostolic succession.

Tertullian (160-220?), in Africa, handles the same doctrine with characteristic energy. His famous work, "On Prescription against Heretics," is intended to bar

¹ Clem. R., Ep. ii. 14; cf. Daniel ix. 2, "the books".

² Iren., iv. 26, 5. ³ *Ibid.*, iv. 33, 8.

the use of private judgment where the Church has once decided, and to cut off evasions from her rule of faith which heretics have sought in the Scriptures interpreted otherwise than as she understands them. Speaking as a Catholic, he says: "They who affirm that the truth is with them must needs say that the corruptions in the Scriptures and the falsities in the expositions of them have been rather introduced by us. To the Scriptures therefore we must not appeal. . . . For the order of things would require that this question should be first proposed, 'To whom belongeth the very Faith; whose are the Scriptures; by whom, and through whom, and when, and to whom was that rule delivered, whereby men become Christians?' For wherever both the true Christian rule and Faith shall be shown to be, there will be the true Scriptures, and the true expositions, and all the true Christian traditions."¹ And, in a later section, "If these things be such that the truth be adjudged to belong to us [*viz.*] as many as walk according to this rule, which the Churches have handed down from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God, the reasonableness of our proposition is manifest, which determines that heretics are not to be allowed to enter upon an appeal to the Scriptures, whom we prove without the Scriptures to have no concern with the Scriptures. For if they be heretics, they cannot be Christians. . . . Therefore, not being Christians, they can have no claim (*nullum jus*) to Christian writings." And in another treatise, "Who shall understand the marrow of Scripture better than the school of Christ itself, whom the Lord adopted as His disciples to be taught all things, and set as masters over us to teach us all things?"²

St. Cyprian of Carthage († 258) who called Tertullian his master, developed the idea of ecclesiastical tradition as a living whole, in which the bishops are "stewards

¹ *De Præscrip.*, 19.

² *Ibid.*, 37; *Scorp.*, 12.

of the Gospel truth".¹ St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) gathers up in one sentence the principles on which all the orthodox acted during those early discussions with heretics, when he exclaims, "For myself I would not believe the Gospel unless the authority of the Catholic Church moved me thereto".² Disputing with Faustus he observes, "If (the Manichean) brings forth codices which he declares to be the work of our Apostles, how will he give them an authority which he has not received from the Churches of Christ established by the Apostles, so that it may pass on with firm approval to after generations?" On this matter he is never weary of insisting, and thus he concludes against his opponents, "I warn you that are held captive by so wicked and detestable an error, if ye will follow the authority of Scriptures (to be preferred before any others) follow ye that which from the time of Christ has come down by the dispensation of Apostles and the assured succession of Bishops from their Sees, to these times kept, commended, glorified in the whole world".³

Writing in 434 A.D., St. Vincent of Lerins gives to this dogma in his *Commonitorium* its classical expression. He first propounds the question which private judgment would raise. "Here perhaps some one will inquire, 'Since the canon of the Scriptures is perfect and more than suffices to itself for all things, what need is there to join with it the authority of the Church's mind?'" To which he makes answer, "Because on account of its depth all do not take the Scripture according to one and the same sense; but this man and that man interpret it severally in their own fashion; so that as many men so many opinions may seem deducible from it. For Novatian under-

¹ "Stewards of Gospel Teaching" in *De Aleatoribus*, 3, now assigned to Pope Victor. *Cyprian* (Hartel), iii. 95, and Ep. 59, 5, 17 in vol. ii. But see *De Unit. Cath. Eccl.* throughout.

² *Contr. Ep. Fund.*, 5. ³ *Contr. Faust.*, xiii. 4; iii. 9.

stands it in one way; Sabellius after this sort, Donatus after that; in a different sense Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius; in another Photinus, Apollinaris, Priscillian; in another Jovinian, Pelagius, Cælestius; in another last of all, Nestorius." Remarkable as this catalogue of unlicensed Bible-critics may sound, it could easily be paralleled and exceeded by modern instances, over against which stands the old and new Catholic Church; since, as Tertullian happily phrases it, "That which *we* are, the Scriptures are from the beginning; we are of them, before it was otherwise with them". And so Vincent concludes, "Therefore it is exceedingly necessary, because of such great deviations of so varying an error, that the line of prophetic and apostolic interpretation should be guided by the rule of Ecclesiastical and Catholic sense".¹

Eastern Fathers' Witness.—Among Eastern witnesses it will be enough to quote Origen, Eusebius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Basil. Origen, translated by St. Jerome, declares concerning true and false Gospels current in his days, "of all these we approve nothing but what the Church approves,—that only four Gospels are to be admitted".² Eusebius (about 264-340), when he had compiled the list of the New Testament, observes, "Of necessity we have made out the catalogue of these also [*viz.*, doubtful books] having discriminated some which were true and unfeigned according to ecclesiastical tradition, and others not like those, etc."³ St. Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386) to his catechumens, "Carefully also learn from the Church which are the books of the Old Testament, which of the New. . . . Those only do thou meditate upon and handle which we read in the Church with sure confidence. The Apostles and ancient Bishops, rulers of the Church, were far wiser and more devout than thou canst be, and they have handed them down; do not

¹ *Commonitor.*, 2.

² *Hom. i. in Luc.*

³ *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 25.

thou, being a child of the Church, transgress the laws established.”¹ Finally, St. Basil (329-379), “Without unwritten traditions the Gospel is an empty name”.²

Such is the position which has always been maintained by Catholic teachers. “He who gave Scripture,” says Newman, “also gave us the interpretation of Scripture; and He gave the one and the other gift in the same way, by the testimony of past ages, as matter of historical knowledge, or . . . by tradition.” But since that tradition is Catholic, it must be Apostolic. As the separate succession of Bishops goes back to that single origin, so do the multiplied attestations which exhibit Holy Scripture as left in the Church’s keeping, both in regard to its contents and its significance. “Private traditions,” to quote the same writer, “wandering unconnected traditions, are of no authority; but permanent, recognised, public, definite, multiplied, concordant testimonies to one and the same doctrine, bring with them an overwhelming evidence of Apostolic origin.”³

That the Canon of inspired books, which is nowhere recorded in the Bible, ought to be ascertained by the Church’s judgment; and that no doctrine at variance with Catholic faith may be gathered from those books, is therefore a principle which we can trace to the Apostles themselves. “Brethren, stand fast,” says St. Paul, “and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle” (2 Thess. ii. 15). Thus Origen once more, “That alone is to be believed as the truth which in nothing differs from the ecclesiastical and apostolical tradition”.⁴ And St. Gregory of Nyssa: “It is enough for demonstration that we have a tradition coming to us from the Fathers, as an inheritance by succession from the Apostles which the Saints following them have handed on”.⁵

¹ *Catech. Illum.*, 4, 33-35. ² *De Sp. Sanc.*, 27.

³ *Hist. Sketches*, i. 381, “Primit. Christianity”.

⁴ *De Princip.*, preface. ⁵ *Adv. Eunom.*, iv.

Significance of this Testimony.—In this witness a twofold strain should be distinguished. First, it is human and historical, like any other; subject to cross-examination; capable of being confirmed by evidences, direct or indirect, but many and various, from the remains of antiquity. Second, however, it is divine in its character and so dogmatic; for the Church that offers it is “the living body of Christ,” inherits “the mind of Christ,” and cannot go astray when she teaches religious doctrine, of which Holy Scripture is the head and front. As judge and keeper of the sacred volume the Church must then be infallible. “In which Book,” says St. Augustine, speaking of the Acts, “it is necessary that I believe, if I believe in the Gospel, since the authority of the Catholic Church commends both Scriptures to me in like manner.”¹

But St. Vincent of Lerins warns us, “Within the Church itself we are greatly to consider that we hold that which has been believed everywhere, always, and of all men”. We must follow “universality, antiquity, consent”.² In other words, local or particular traditions touching the Scriptures (for with this we are concerned) have no binding power until, or unless, they shall be reinforced by a general acknowledgment as Catholic truth. Nay, more. An opinion may be universal and unchallenged, in a given age or series of ages, yet if it is not put forward by authority as being contained in the original “deposit” of the Apostolic treasury (1 Tim. vi. 20) there is no guarantee that it will not yield before evidence contradicting it. And to ascertain whether so irrevocable a sentence has been uttered by those who inherit the seats of the Fathers, is often a delicate, sometimes for a while an unfulfilled task. Examples are not wanting of local Churches that, before the Canon of the New Testament was fixed, were in the habit of reading certain apocryphal books as Holy Scripture,

¹ *Contr. Ep. Fund.*, 6.

² *Commonitor.*, 3.

the Epistle of Barnabas, the *Pastor* of Hermas, and other primitive though not inspired writings. Again, the Millenarian interpretation of the Apocalypse, which we find in St. Irenæus, contributed not a little towards discrediting St. John's Revelation in the Churches of the East. And a third instance, perhaps even more remarkable, is the almost unanimous belief of the Fathers, to which no theologian now would commit himself, that those unknown men who translated the Hebrew Bible into what is called the Septuagint, were inspired of the Holy Ghost.

From these and the like episodes it seems to follow that a tradition, however widespread, if unquestioned and therefore untested, need not represent that "mind of the Church" whereby we are secured from error. It may appear to have "universality and antiquity" in its favour, but something more is required if it is to enjoy the conscious, deliberate, final "consent" of the "school of Christ," which will alone fence it round about with the security of revealed truth. Not every tradition which happens to find a place inside the Church is that Catholic tradition termed by St. Irenæus the *charisma veritatis*. How we shall discern the difference, though no question can be more important, it is not for us here to investigate. Theologians have laid down their rules; and authority, proceeding by gradual development of terms and teaching, does, in course of time, bring these doubtful matters to an issue.

Catholics, assuredly, mean by Tradition "the whole system of faith and ordinances which they have received from the generation before them, and that generation from the generation before itself," and so back to the Apostles of Christ. And of such an inheritance Holy Scripture is manifestly a portion which must never be separated from it. We cannot imagine the Bible without the Church, or the Church without the Bible. As a matter of history, Christians have taken the Sacred Books for canonical and inspired because

the "succession of bishops" declared that such they were, made out the list of them, and eliminated from it apocryphal writings. All this was not done in a day, but by degrees, yet always on the same grounds, to wit, that the Church in affirming her own judgment was following the Apostles and could not fall into error. If Catholic Antiquity had not this privilege divinely bestowed, or if it made a wrong use of its authority, no means are left us by which to discover what books are contained in the Bible of Christians, whether Old Testament or New. Holy Scripture is, then, itself part and parcel of Catholic Tradition.

As Regards the Canon.—This conclusion brings with it inferences of great moment. It relieves the private judgment of individuals from the burden of attempting to decide between the Palestinian and the Alexandrian Canon of the Old Testament, as also between those books of the New, concerning which there were, or were not, doubts at any period among believers. It protects every recognised part of the Bible against a critical assault which would deny to it the place it has secured in the Canon. It limits, not inquiry, but doubt, so far as the Church owns any writing to be Scripture. It will not suffer arguments from matter, style, dates, or quality of composition, to overthrow this one, external but sufficient, evidence that the book, page, fragment, is inspired. No internal examination may, for a Catholic, result in dispossessing of its rank any passage that has been authentically declared canonical. Not only is the Bible closed to additions, it allows of no diminutions, except by the indirect method of showing that certain alleged verses or sections never did enter into the genuine text.

And the True Sense of Scripture.—In like manner as regards the sense, that is to say, the meaning of Scripture. It is, and ever has been, Catholic dogma that no interpretation of Holy Writ is admissible which runs counter to the "analogy of faith"—in modern lan-

guage, to the Church's consciousness of truth revealed and entrusted to her. Such "analogy" was the original significance of the word "Canon," which meant the Creed.¹ That Christ's Church should be merely the guardian, but not the qualified exponent, of the Written Word; that the letter should be under her charge, but the spirit not opened to her apprehension; that she should not know what the record teaches, though it is in her keeping—this none of the Fathers would grant whose testimonies, cited above, vindicate her jurisdiction against irresponsible dealings with the Bible. Thus Vincent again, "How shall they (Catholics and children of Mother Church) discern truth from falsehood about the Holy Scriptures? They will be careful to do that which, as we wrote at the beginning, holy and learned men have delivered to us,—they will interpret the divine Canon according to the traditions of the universal Church and the rules of Catholic dogma."² So, too, Origen, "Whenever they (heretics) put forward the canonical Scriptures, in which every Christian consents and believes, they seem to say, 'The word of truth is in the house'; but we ought not to believe them, or to depart from the primal and ecclesiastical tradition, or to believe otherwise than as it has been handed down by the succession of the Church of God".³ Quotations to this effect might be endlessly multiplied. "To the Fathers," says Newman, "the idea of private judgment on the Scriptures suggests itself only to be condemned." But the course of history will demonstrate that Popes and Councils have always opposed to new doctrines which drew their arguments from inspired writings the sense put upon those verses or chapters by Antiquity. And that sense, being acknowledged in Christian preaching as alone orthodox, was thereby conclusive against innovators. Uniform custom, guarded by the faith, established not only what were the Scriptures, but what

¹ Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vii. 16; Iren., i. 9.

² *Commonitor.*, 27. ³ *In Matt.*, 46.

their meaning must be in questions of dogmatic importance.

The Decisions of Trent.—It is now generally admitted, in accordance with all this, that the Council of Trent did not betray Antiquity, but gave expression to its belief and practice, when it forbade private persons to interpret Holy Scripture, “in matters of faith and morals belonging to the edification of Christian doctrine,” contrary to that sense which the Church holds and has held, or against the unanimous consent of the Fathers in their expositions. The Vatican Council has turned this negative into an affirmative proposition. That sense of Scripture which the Church maintains is its true sense; therefore, whether ascertained by consent of Fathers or otherwise, it must not be called in question.¹ For our faith in the Bible, words and meaning, is the faith of the Communion of Saints, a deposit, not a discovery of our own.

What limits are indicated by the significant clause, “in matters of faith and morals belonging to the edification of Christian doctrine,” we need not at present discuss. Let us say merely that all expositions of Scripture which deny what the Church teaches, in whole or in part, must be unsound and are to be rejected. No one who holds Catholic principles can refuse so manifest a conclusion from them. Hence arises the question whether an orthodox believer is capable of attaining to the genuine art or science of criticism. For it would seem that dogma has forestalled inquiry in his case; and that nothing remains for him but mechanically to echo the decisions laid down by theologians and bound upon his shoulders by anathema. How shall we meet this objection?

How Bearing on Critical Science.—First, it is patent that if critical science is incompatible with foregone certitudes, none could be critics who did not begin by

¹ Conc. Vatican, *De Fide Cath.*, 2; Conc. Trident., sess. iv.

being sceptics—a supposition so unreasonable that it falls by its own weight. Again, it will now be granted in many quarters “that persons who maintain that the mass of Christians are bound to draw the orthodox faith for themselves from Scripture, hold an unreal doctrine and are in a false position”.¹ But we may say as much of scholars who, by a similar pretence, would fain undertake without relying on authority and first principles to settle the text, discover its signification, and write a valid commentary on the Bible at large. They cannot fulfil their promise to start unburdened, any more than the open dogmatiser; it is certain that they never have attained their object. Would there be, in fact, any difficulty whatever in showing that the critics who throng various modern schools, proceed just as much as the Catholic or Lutheran or Socinian of a former day, on assumptions which govern their handling of the Hebrew and Christian Testaments? If criticism requires that we discard first principles, to be a critic is impossible. And if it does not, that those principles should be warranted by a Church need be no hindrance to the investigations and reasonings of which critical science is made up. Assumptions, in every case, do control its method and guide its conclusions. From this point of view all who take the Bible for their study are on the same footing.

But the Catholic has this advantage. He is restrained from indulging recklessly the temptation to conjecture and to revolutionise which besets all those who deal in minute problems of literature and archæology. He is not allowed to forget that religious truth may be violated by his guessings, and the revealed word of God thrust aside in favour of textual amendments so flimsy that, when they in turn are discredited, the world wonders how they ever came to be approved. The *vis inertiae* of dogmatic decisions has for its effect a

¹ Newman, *Via Media*, i. 150.

stability in preserving the text, as well as its meaning, both of which would lie otherwise at the mercy of that caprice which finds perhaps the wildest play in literary erudition. To withstand the vagaries of Gnostics in the second century, it was requisite that hierarchical power should maintain in their despite the Old Testament as a divine volume; should forbid them to mutilate St. Paul's Epistles, and to suppress the Gospels of which they did not approve. So now, if the same authority slackened its hold, who can doubt that before many years critics left to their own devices would break up both Testaments into an unintelligible heap of fragments? Or do we not rather see that they have done so already? This destructive process wins a Pyrrhic victory by disregarding the tradition of ages and inverting the laws of evidence. It fixes on the text as a field for infinite conjecture, untrammelled by use and wont. It resists or denies external testimony which, on questions of authorship, is in regard to books the solid ground that history goes upon. It tends to be at once fantastic and incoherent; and is liable to be carried away by the lightest of suggestions, provided they be novel; deaf and blind to conservative statements, merely because they are familiar. Happily, not all modern criticism falls under these animadversions; but there is far too much of it that will justify them. And, since it is the want of steady principles which thus incapacitates men otherwise learned in so eminent a degree, Catholic tradition, whereby Holy Scripture is saved from dissolution under this fatal influence, may take credit to itself as a bulwark of true critical science.

In the second place, even if an infallible commentary on each verse of the Bible were put forth by the Holy See, there would remain the task of defending it on grounds of evidence, which could not be done without investigation and argument resting on their own premisses. But, so far from our having an exposition in this detail,—not to speak of its being authorised—the

texts which Popes or Councils have interpreted are exceedingly few, while there is no such gloss upon a single book of either Testament. Nor does the Church's *magisterium*, as it is called—her daily constant teaching of the faithful—amount to more than a general view, safeguarded, as St. Thomas would express it, from “pernicious error,” but leaving the sense in most places of the Written Word to be discovered by consultation with learned men, by comparison of documents and monuments, as in other memorials of antiquity. So long as the Creed is not in danger, freedom prevails; for what is there to hinder it? Now the Creed is by no means commensurate with all things inside the covers of the Bible. It is more, since it includes divine traditions otherwise given; and it is less, wherever it does not include matters of history, science, or secular knowledge, as we find them introduced by the sacred writers who do not guarantee their accuracy. That such elements are intermingled with Revelation, as a concrete whole, is undeniable. And that Scripture does not contain a revealed science or secular history has long been a commonplace among Catholic commentators, as we shall show more exactly in due course.¹

Limits to Consent of Antiquity.—Thirdly, the “unanimous consent of the Fathers” to which we may not run counter, is a dogmatic, not a critical consent, in so far as it binds us. It cannot be more imperative than the Church's jurisdiction; neither does it extend beyond the faith and its necessary implications, moral, historical, and the like, according to its subject-matter. The assent and consent of the Fathers outside these lines do not restrict expositors, simply because at this point revealed authority ceases. And the scope of Revelation sets a term to the power which it wields.

But, fourthly, unanimous consent, while it is one of the forms in which Catholic dogma has come down

¹ Cornely, *Gen. Introd.*, 588-93; Gigot, *Gen. Introd.*, 398; Vigouroux, *M. B.* i. 284-89.

from the Fathers, relates to the substance of faith much more than to the way of expounding it in Scripture-places. A decisive argument is at hand. The Fathers belong to various schools of exegesis, employ methods which are exceedingly diverse, and approach the same texts from different points of view. However manifest their agreement as Doctors of the Church, no less equally clear is their divergence as private expositors of Holy Writ, save in a few commanding passages. The school of Alexandria, which traced its descent from St. Mark, was allegorical sometimes to excess; but it includes names like Clement and Origen, whose influence is discernible in St. Cyril, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and even St. Thomas Aquinas. To the Alexandrians were opposed the later school of Antioch, great commentators of whom the chief, St. Chrysostom and Theodoret, would now be reckoned more trustworthy as adhering to the literal sense, though not discarding the typical when dogma seemed absolutely to require it. Thus, likewise, to interpret the first chapters of Genesis a method was employed by St. Augustine of vision or parable, utterly in contrast with St. Basil's acceptation of the letter which was common among Easterns. But on neither has the seal of authority been set to this day.

Such diversities make the unanimous consent of Fathers in an identical exegesis rare enough to allow not only that we should move with freedom, attaching ourselves to either school, but that we should learn from both Alexandria and Antioch how a more precise form of interpretation may be developed. To the best critical methods history and archæology, cultivated on modern lines, will lend their aid. The study of mental states and stages cannot be overlooked, unless we would confound epochs of civilisation and misconstrue documents created under circumstances most unlike our own. But these considerations teach us that problems which the Fathers could not raise they assuredly did not

settle ; that other questions debated by them were left unresolved for want of data, since their time laid open to us ; that their very dissensions are arguments for liberty of research and invite a more scientific procedure ; while the series of happy discoveries which have brought us face to face with ancient Egypt, Assyria and Elam, entitle us to affirm that the world out of which the Bible emerged was never so well known as it is in our day.

The Prophetic Sense and the Letter.—If we distinguish the revealed sense of Scripture by calling it the prophetic, and term a knowledge of the letter criticism, we may conclude that dogma looks to finished results, but, investigation seeks to follow out their history. Between these two senses, Catholics hold, there cannot be contradiction, but there is often need of adjustment. And the critical process, resorting to such evidence as it can get, fragmentary or uncertain, seldom beyond the reach of attack, will never be complete. To set up the conjectures (much more the plausibilities) of a science so imperfect against the certitudes of religion, is neither sound logic nor good philosophy. Here, as elsewhere, a purely dissolving scepticism defeats itself. The doctrinal assertions of authority are not, indeed, premisses from which the critic sets out. But they protect the Bible as a great historical treasure to which from the beginning witness is borne by the society wherein it originated and for which it was intended.

That witness may fairly be presented as a ground of reasonable credence,—the sum, in a very true estimate, of external proofs for the authenticity of the whole volume. But, as consisting of many parts, derived from independent sources, and the work of authors whom ages and countries have divided, the Bible exhibits another testimony in its own structure and contents. These two departments, internal and external, make up the critic's province. He is free to investigate them from end to end. Nevertheless, he cannot be free to

deny truths ascertained whether by reason or Revelation. And if he draws a circle *a priori*, outside of which to relegate the Supernatural—miracles, theophanies, prophetic foresight, and all that holds of this—he will do so at the risk of despising experiences which mankind have always obstinately affirmed. In turning to the actual evidence and letting it tell its own tale, the orthodox critic is surely more of a philosopher than the rationalist who shuts it out of court by an axiom that “miracles do not happen”. Once more the believer finds himself in harmony with mental no less than with historical science, when he takes into account the whole state of the case.

Even at this early stage we may indicate how the adjustment between dogma and criticism, which is the aim of all sound learning, has been advanced by the application to Scripture of methods available elsewhere—literary and psychological. On every side expositors are giving up the mistaken fancy which treated the Bible as if it were one single book because all its parts had one Divine authorship. The very word Bible is a noun of multitude, signifying not a volume, but a collection, or as St. Jerome said, a “library”. Hence the exegesis which dwelt on solitary verses or words, not regarding the context of history, and much less the mental atmosphere, that lent to such passages their significance, is in a fair way to be abandoned. Verbal inspiration, if still upheld, is no longer made equivalent to verbal perfection—as though there must be a “divine style,” recognisable by its preterhuman characters, and warranting the accuracy of every statement alluded to by the sacred writers however incidentally.¹ For a pro-founder treatment provision was made in the Fathers, especially by St. Jerome, whose principles have never been denied, though during long periods they were not seen to carry after them applications which are now

¹ See discussion in Bonaccorsi, *Quest. Bibl.*, 95-134.

indispensable. On another side the wisdom of St. Augustine, not conversant with critical minutiae, affords a philosophy of Revelation and reconciliation.

The Bible an Eastern Book.—That Holy Scripture in whatsoever language written, is a series of Oriental sayings, of Semite and Hebrew compositions, and must be analysed accordingly; that even the Latin Vulgate is neither in style nor substance European, but a rendering of Asiatic forms of thought into an idiom as far removed from them as it well could be; that, in consequence, the standard by which to judge of the Bible is Eastern, antique, peculiar to itself, not Western, or mediæval, or modern; and that, if we bring to bear on it current notions of authorship, critical history, expert handling of sources, we shall be doing it violence; these are commonplaces which it would be superfluous to recite, were they not in detail constantly overlooked.

Those only will escape recurring misinterpretations who keep steadily in mind the Oriental background on which the whole Bible is delineated. And of that background the elementary prevailing colour is the Hebrew genius. In Scripture there is nothing Latin except a few borrowed terms up and down the New Testament. As little, in spite of their Hellenistic dialect, can we trace in Gospels or Epistles any Greek ideas which have not, by traversing the inspired medium, become a mere vehicle for the traditions of Israel. This is true even of the Fourth Gospel and of Epistles like those to the Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians. Greek thought is not the source of Wisdom or Ecclesiasticus, which may claim their real origin from Proverbs, and thus fall into the line of the primitive Old Testament. So that when we construe any part of our Sacred Books by Thucydides or Plato, we lay upon them a test which is simply misleading.

In like manner, but with still more disastrous effects, we should be creating imaginary difficulties did we

suppose that, because a volume is inspired, it must needs be written with a minute accuracy of quotation or incident such as no human author can achieve. Our rule of exegesis, on the contrary, will be satisfied when author and writing conform to the demands of scope and audience, to the period and its culture, and to the great first law which governs exchange of thought among contemporaries, that what is said shall be intelligible and apposite to the circumstances. A book that did not fulfil these terms would fail of its purpose. And though gifted minds write for posterity, are often wiser than they know, and leave that behind which distant ages appropriate, still they are children of their time, using its language to express their thoughts, how original soever, nor do they willingly propound enigmas. The immediate occasion, which always has existed, should therefore always be sought after, unless we would sacrifice the writer's meaning.

But when we have secured it (which is far from being everywhere possible) the very fact that law-giver and prophet form links in a series and that religion has travelled down to us by an historical development—not like a science shut up in formulas unchangeable—should warn the critic that he is in presence of something deeper and larger than any one mind can exhaust. It is, to speak reverently, “the soul of this wide world, dreaming on things to come” (but here divine, because intent upon everlasting issues) which connects the end with the beginning and makes earlier disclosures types or suggestive symbols of what is to be given later. Thus every human work has a remote or permanent as well as a contemporary value. But the Bible more clearly than the less inspired, because events and institutions themselves likewise sacred provide us with a comment which explains it. If Nature to the believer in God is a parable, or an “Economy,” as the school of Alexandria would say, Holy Writ is a great Sacrament. The letter is an outward sign of hidden

truth destinéd in course of ages to be made known. We now perceive in its chapters more vividly than ever, the ascent from Law to Prophets, from Prophets to Christ and His Church. Difficult as it would be for the mere historian not to recognise epochs, distinct yet connected, in a movement which extends from Abraham's Call to the death of St. John, or not to mark its enlarging cycle, that recurrence of type and antitype,—that fulfilment, in other words, of prophecy,—is assured for the critic who keeps an eye upon Tradition, by the judgment of the Society in which the Bible has grown up. Jews and Christians alike declare it, differing not as regards the Messianic structure of the Old Testament, though as yet disputing whether it be completed by the New.

Its Method a Development.—Hence, by a wonderful coincidence, the method of evolution, applied to religion as biology now applies it to life, cannot but reveal the law of ascent from imperfect rudiments to a scope fulfilled. While every stage is sufficient for itself, the earlier creations are meant to be superseded. The long standing quarrel of Gnostic and Catholic, which filled the second century and has often broken out since, is brought to an end, not by surrendering the Hebrew Covenant as the work of an evil Demiurge, but by setting it in its place and time. That volume is not, as Origen was tempted to say, the bare allegory of Christ's doctrine; it is a true "Dispensation,"¹ granted under circumstances which in their promise and passing types correspond to the elder periods of geology. The Father who anticipates our soundest modern views on this head is St. Augustine. Everywhere, development as an idea haunts him; in his "Comment upon Genesis," and the "City of God," he has bestowed on its laws a wealth of reflection most stimulating. We can borrow from these deeply suggestive meditations

¹ Ephesians i. 10.

only a sentence or two. Looking upon the things which were first created, our Christian Plato remarks, "In all of them such as were made have received the modes and activities of their time; so that from hidden and invisible reasons (which are latent as causes in the creature produced) they have issued forth in manifest forms and natures, even as the green herb springing out of the ground, and man made into a living soul". Hence, in their "causal reasons" things were perfect from the beginning; but for their evolution time was necessary. Or, as we should now express ourselves, the Idea guided the process, being to it a final cause and an explanation, while within the organism a seed of growth lay concealed.¹

Another law which development from a living germ postulates, is correlation, otherwise termed homology, which requires that the organs and parts shall be proportioned each to each, and to the whole. Thus between the ethics, rites and ceremonies, doctrines and precepts, of any one era in the Old Testament, we shall look for a certain harmony, not expecting a moral code far in advance where civilisation lags behind. That even Divine Ordinances took into account the imperfect heart of Israel, and suffered institutions like polygamy, blood-revenge, divorce, slavery, to go on existing, though condemned by more humane principles and to be abolished when the Christian law of love was promulgated, is beyond denial. Our Lord corrects the practice while giving a reason for its toleration (Matt. v. 20-48; xix. 7; Mark x. 5). St. Augustine will have us consider that in a state so rudimentary, the legislator Himself cannot but issue commands which are on a level with it. "It was God's order," he says, "who certainly knows according to the heart of each, what and by means of whom each individual ought to undergo suffering." Hence, "they deserved, the one party

¹ *De Gen., ad Lit.*, vi. 17-27.

to be told to inflict it, the other to submit to it".¹ On a similar course of reasoning, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, animal sacrifices are explained as shadows of a better and more perfect rite, which being their consummation ethically, could not but bring them to an end (x. 9). When, therefore, evolution is invoked rather than allegory to clear up difficult points, whether affecting the Moral Code, or the all too human conceptions of Deity, or the "weak and beggarly elements" of the Temple service, or the divergent conduct of chosen men acting on a Divine intimation, Scripture itself offers us that key, and Tradition by the hands of the Fathers makes use of it. For, as St. Gregory the Great reminds us, "Moses was more instructed in the knowledge of God than Abraham, the Prophets more than Moses, the Apostles more than the Prophets".²

A third law is that of assimilation. The germ which means to live will take from the right hand or the left, not being at all solicitous whence comes the material, so long as it can be run into the mould and appropriated to its new service. Originality does not consist in self-denial, but in mastering and making one's own the infinite potencies of ideas while not losing one's individual traits. This principle has the widest field in religion, as history shows it to us, and in the codes and literatures of great nations. Of these it may be truly said that assimilation is the law of their being. Neither does it signify at what point in the line of march a sovereign movement seizes on its tributary aids; if it can sweep them on with it, no date will matter. Those accessories may seem to have existed before its time; they may boast themselves heirs of a grander civilisation; nay, their actual worth may be more than that of some elements already present in the conquering organism; but if they succumb to it, the question of right is decided. For apart from it they would perish;

¹ *Contr. Faust.*, xxii. 71, 72.

² *In Ezek.*, ii., hom. 4, no. 12.

subdued to it they enter on a new and prosperous life. Assimilation, while it enriches, also refines; but it is the "latent cause," the "seminal reason," detected by St. Augustine in God's creations, that casts out evil and brings the good to light. Only when we look back over the whole process do we understand why in primitive eras toleration of the imperfect was so large. The aim is to bring in from all sides that which afterwards will be sifted and turned to account. If a Divine Idea becomes subject to conditions of time, its method, as we see from the Bible, will be eclectic; the condescension of its Author will often appear to be weakness; and in the form of a slave He will win His triumph over principalities and powers.

Given such a point of view, we can follow St. Augustine when he declares "patent" in the New Testament that which was merely "latent" in the Old. We draw the inference, far-reaching as it is illuminative, that imperfect manifestation proves a more finished one to be in store, anticipates rather than contradicts the Divine Idea, and must be read by "looking before and after"; as a curve is governed in mathematics by the law which it discloses though it be only begun. Sacred history, the drama of God's Revelation, craves like any other high action (and more in proportion to its height) a continually changing movement; it will abound in contrasts and discords, until by issuing in the glory of Jesus made known to His Church it reconciles all differences.

From the "carnal" Jew to the "spiritual" Christian there is a progress by antagonism, of which St. Paul is the never-wearied exponent. "The letter," taken by itself, not construed as a lesson elementary but imperative in man's training, "killeth"; but when the "spirit" comes, a purpose is beheld at last in realisation, and is discerned as having been at work from the prelude to the crowning act.¹

¹ The "accommodated" sense of this passage, 2 Cor. iii. 6, is as ancient as Origen. And see St. Jerome on Hosea,

Not Hazard but Miracle.—This connection the critic will historically demonstrate. Moses and the Prophets do bring in Christ; without Him the Bible would be a writing that breaks off, a torso to which the features are wanting. Here, then, comes the dilemma that sceptics must resolve. Either accident or miracle—the hazard which cannot shape events, or else the foresight which designed them. But accident is no explanation. And if Intelligence brought the perfect figure of Jesus forth out of elements so conflicting, across ages that seemed to have gone each its own way, from a people who made of their Law a dead stereotype and saw in its sublimest provisions nothing but a fossilised ritual, the argument is complete. Just because He fulfils the Law by giving it a human and universal application, Jesus proves Himself to be the Messiah. In no other way has the Chosen People ever fulfilled its duty as the world's religious teacher. For mankind Jesus alone is that Israel without which Greek wisdom had been fruitless, Roman Law a yoke of iron, Teutonic adventures the blind putting forth of a strength in which there was no ideal.

Moreover, the Bible, which is a Book of the East, though it has long controlled the deepest thoughts of Western races, shows not a sign of decrepitude. It is spreading among the nations of Farthest Asia, or will make its way to them; and, if the Christian Catholic interpretation be put upon all that is in it,—if it be offered as a prophecy the meaning of which is guarded by a living Tradition,—who can doubt of its future? The written Word will absorb or overcome by sheer force of a perfection gradually attained, those other "Sacred Books" which cannot vie with it in energy, wisdom, tenderness, moral grandeur, and progressive adaptation to the growth of the spirit. So, ever more and more, this volume is entitled to its great simple name: it is "the Book of Books," without an equal, summing up in its pages the preparation of the Gospel,

then displaying it as a Divine Life incarnate in the Man Christ Jesus, who by His Church establishes the rudiments of God's Kingdom on earth, and by slow steps but sure is bringing into it all nations.¹

From these things it is a plain conclusion that we are dealing in Christianity with a system beyond nature, therefore miraculous, or in its cause and development strictly Divine. Its effects are manifestly not of this world, though to some degree visible in this world. We cannot account for Jesus by any method which takes Him for less than what He claims to be, the Only Begotten Son of the Father. If so much be granted, the Scriptures which record this supreme exhibition of grace and truth may well be expected to tell us of many beside it, forecasts, glimpses, warnings, of the spiritual order as it passes down into symbols and institutions of which the elements were earth-born. The Incarnation cannot be a solitary event, standing alone amid a world unrelated to it. There will be a scheme of the supernatural commensurate, to say the least, with its purpose which does not overlook any of the children of Adam. Unless, therefore, we "dissolve Jesus" into a myth, or deny His influence on the moral destinies of our race, or make illusion the mother of an ideal greater than any which human effort has found out or is likely to find, the Bible itself must be miraculous in what it narrates as in its main teaching. The criticism therefore which denies the superhuman of Holy Writ may be rationalistic but is far from being rational. And if it pronounces a rule absolute forbidding us to admit the truth of visions that call themselves prophecies; if it degrades every account of wonders wrought on body and mind to misunderstandings; if it withdraws from the hand of God the works which He has made, so that they obey Him no longer, what unreason can surpass these veritable superstitions?

¹ De Maistre, *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, ii. last pages,

The true *a priori* to Scripture is the living God. That He should inspire, command, direct the course of things to ends beyond them, acting as seems good in His eyes on the forces of Nature, and bringing to light its intelligible, its religious purpose, those only will refuse to think possible who set His laws above Himself,—who do not perceive that in every law He is present and is its innermost reason. He is neither a dead God nor the God of the dead. When He created matter and spirit, mind and will, He did not abdicate His sovereignty over them. Since, however, the Bible is a supernatural creation, any man who disregards this fact may be likened to one reading the Greek of Homer's Iliad as though it were English. Wherever that system has been acted upon, the effect, as we see, is to destroy Christianity root and branch. A non-miraculous Christ, an uninspired Bible, bring as their consequence, not to be escaped by any logic, a dead God. For those who have once been enlightened, Rationalism, if it takes hold of them, cannot stop short of this ruin. But when we unite Church and Bible, we announce that God is in History reconciling the ages to Himself.

Inspiration Correlated to Prophecy.—Nothing could be more agreeable to these principles than that the record of His gracious dealings should be written under His guidance. Though it need not have been so, yet we are prepared to believe that every Scripture is given by inspiration of God (2 Tim. iii. 16). There is a *Revelatio revelata*. The messengers are sent by Divine authority; the message is from on high, beyond human imaginings; what so congruous as that it should be committed to documents of a like state and dignity? St. Paul assures the Corinthians (2 Cor. iii. 3), “Ye are manifestly declared to be the Epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart”. This was that Tradition, in teachers and

disciples, to which we have so often had recourse. But St. Paul's allusion, as well as his example, leads on to the idea of a Written Word and of other instruments, controlled by the Spirit in times past. And St. Peter, the first head of Christian Tradition, gathers up, as was fitting, the whole matter into a few sentences with which this introduction may conclude. "We have also," he tells us, "a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts. Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Peter i. 19-21).

SECTION I.

ORIGINS, AUTHORS, CANON OF OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

TRADITION AND THE CRITICS.

Our Three Problems.—Three questions may be raised concerning the Sacred Books:—

- (1) What is their genuine text? Textual Criticism.
- (2) Who wrote them and from what sources? Higher Criticism.
- (3) What is their authority? Their Inspiration and Interpretation.

We propose to deal with (1) and (2) in the present section as regards the Old Testament, premising some general remarks.

The Latin Vulgate.—For Catholics the “authoritative” version of Holy Scripture set out by the Council of Trent (Sess. iv., April 8, 1546), is contained in the “old Latin Vulgate edition”. This work was revised and republished by order of Clement VIII. in 1592, from a text which had been already issued under Sixtus V. (1590), but which needed many alterations before it could satisfy critical demands. About four thousand variations, occasionally serious, have been counted in the Clementine as compared with the Sixtine Bible. No later revision is attributable to the Holy See; nor is a complete critical text, founded on collation of MSS,

and vernacular translations, forthcoming at this day. It would appear to follow, and is commonly held, that the Church guarantees, by calling the Vulgate "authentic," its substantial accordance with those originals of which it is a rendering, but not its accuracy in all minute particulars.¹

Thus Andreas Vega, Tridentine theologian; "having regard to its antiquity and the honour shown it during many years by the Latin Councils;—that the faithful might also be assured that no pernicious error could be derived from it and so it might be read with safety;—moreover, to end the confusion to which a multitude of versions gives rise, and to check the licence of ever fresh translations, the Council determined that we should employ the Vulgate in public readings, disputes, and expositions. So far then was it declared authentic that all might know for certain of its containing no error from which any mischievous dogma in faith and morals could be collected."² To the same effect Laynez, Mariana, and writers coeval with the period or the succeeding age.

And not only is the Latin Vulgate (negatively) free from dogmatic error, but (positively) it expresses all that belongs to the substance of the Written Word. For otherwise it would not fulfil the office assigned it in controversy and public teaching.³ In technical language this conformity does not exclude "modal discrepancies," such as are likely or inevitable when ideas from one idiom have to be rendered into another. Again, what is here termed the "dogmatic use" of a version, however venerable, need not imply that passages of dubious authenticity in current Hebrew or Greek recensions become more certain if we find them in the Latin. It was not intended by the Fathers of

¹ Cornely, *Introd. Gen.*, i. 443-45; Vigouroux, *M. B.*, i. 223-26.

² Pallavicini, *Istor. Conc. Trid.*, vi. 17, and Vega, *De Justificat.*, xv. 9.

³ Bellarmine, *De Verbo Dei*, ii. 10.

the Council to determine critical questions, but to safeguard the integrity of that Bible from which they drew their testimonies.¹

Behind the Tridentine Vulgate a long history stretches out. We go back through eleven hundred and fifty years of public usage to St. Jerome (about 346-420), who, at command of Pope Damasus († 384), undertook, not to create a new Latin Bible, but to revise that which was extant and which had been popular from some indefinite period in the late second century. Tertullian refers to a Latin version and St. Cyprian quotes from it constantly; it is still recoverable for the whole of the New Testament; in a somewhat modified form (the Gallican) as regards the Psalter; in fragments of Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Job and Esther; and in the deuterocanonical books or portions of books transferred to our Vulgate. We have been accustomed to speak of it as the *Vetus Itala*; following a possibly corrupt reading in St. Augustine (*De Doct. Christiana*, ii, 15), Cardinal Wiseman argued on grounds now considered untenable that it was of African origin. But there may have existed a number of versions comprising, if not the whole Bible, yet many sections. The authors are quite unknown. 1 and 2 Macc., Baruch and Tobit have been instanced as not belonging to the recognised *Vetus Latina*. In any case the old version had affinities with the so-called "rustic language"; it gave a literal and often barbarous rendering of the LXX.; and in the fourth century was corrupted by popular usage.²

St. Jerome's Labours.—What St. Jerome did may be exhibited as follows. He translated directly from the Hebrew for public service all those books which are contained in the Jewish Canon, except the Psalms. These, in 388, he corrected, not venturing to deal more freely with a text in liturgical and private use. The foundation here was the LXX. as found in Origen's

¹ Cornely, *ut supra*, 456; Bonaccorsi, *Quest. Bib.*, 13-27.

² Tertull., *Adv. Prax.*, v.; *Adv. Marc.*, v. 4; Cornely, *Introd.*, 358-72.

Hexapla. From the Aramaic he rendered not so much the words as the sense of Tobit and Judith. His own exceedingly valuable reproduction of the "Hebrew Truth," not depending on *Vetus Itala*, occupied Jerome from 391 to 404. The remaining books, or "second Canon," he left pretty much as he found them in that elder Latin. For the New Testament it was also kept but with revision according to the Greek, which latter is now represented by MSS. not earlier than the fourth century A.D.¹

"Authentic," as used at Trent, does not signify, as Cardinal Franzelin argued, "concordant with the originals," but "of recognised legal standing," and so authoritative, "*Scriptum aliquod quod ex se fidem facit in iudicio*". Yet, in fact, it implies and could not but to this extent secure, an assurance of such agreement. The Vulgate is a good Latin copy of both Testaments, in whatever language they first appeared. The New Testament was altogether Greek, Hellenistic in dialect, with one disputable exception, St. Matthew, which was long and largely declared to be of Aramaic provenance. But what was the Old Testament?

The Seventy.—For Christians, immediately, it was to be found in the Greek Septuagint, during the first two centuries of our era. The legend accepted by Philo, Josephus, Irenæus, Clement, somewhat scornfully treated by St. Jerome, but not overthrown until attacked by Lud. Vives of Louvain († 1540), connected this epoch-making work with Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) and Demetrius Phalereus, librarian of Alexandria.² The "Letter of Aristeas," in which this wonderful story first occurs (about 80 B.C.), will not bear investigation and is undoubtedly spurious. Looking carefully at the version itself we can be certain

¹ Vigouroux, *M. B.*, i., 210-222.

² Philo, *Vit. Moys.*, ii. 5; Joseph., *Antiq. Jews*, xii. 2; Just., *Hortat.*, xiii.; Iren., *Adv. Hæres*, iii. 21; Jerome, *Contr. Ruf.*, ii. 25; Talmud Babylon, *Megill.*, 9 a, etc.

that it was made for Jews, not for heathen scholars or princes; that it grew by degrees from the Law, which was its beginning, until it included all the Hebrew sacred library; that it is indeed Egyptian and therefore Alexandrian as a whole; and the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus (about 130 B.C.) appears to indicate that a Greek Bible corresponding to the Old Testament had been in existence for some time. The language is the "Common Dialect," showing an imperfect and very unclassical acquaintance with Greek. Some liberties are taken with the Hebrew, especially by way of toning down its bold anthropomorphisms. But the language itself was not well known to the various translators, who fail in Isaiah; handle Sam., Jer., Proverbs, Job, Esther, Dan. rather freely; but in Ezek., Chron., Canticles, Eccles. keep more to the letter. As might be anticipated, the Pentateuch, with which they were most familiar, is the best of their renderings.¹

On comparing the LXX., whether in Origen's great parallel or in quotations by New Testament and the Fathers, with our present Hebrew, known as the Massorah, differences justly termed innumerable disclose themselves. And if we bear in mind, as cannot be questioned, that for the Alexandrian Jews no less than for those of Palestine, the books of Scripture recognised between 250-130 B.C. were inspired, *i.e.*, God's word written, we must conclude that deliberate tampering with it by private men, or even by authority of a synagogue, will not explain these variations. The text, therefore, cannot yet have been thoroughly established. In 200 B.C., if not later, "the different schools had different redactions". There was a Samaritan copy of the Mosaic Torah with which we may connect the Sadducee, or old Conservative, party, who did not allow *Novellæ*, *i.e.* legal additions, to be canonical. There was, likewise, a Pharisee interpretation, based on its

¹ *E. Bi.*, "Text and Versions," secs. 46-55.

own readings, of the Law and the Prophets. But in Egypt MSS. were followed which did not agree with what the Sopherim at Jerusalem gave out as authentic. Nevertheless it would seem that not any condemnation of the LXX. is discoverable until long after the Christian era.

No standard Hebrew text in the time of our Lord and His Apostles forbade orthodox Jews to quote the Greek renderings as decisive and therefore dogmatic. So much is evident from the New Testament itself in all its parts. Later on, Hebrew MSS. which diverged from the Massorah were destroyed. But the Samaritan could not be utterly done away. And the LXX. preserves for our learning an Old Testament which has ever been in substance that of the Catholic Church.

The Massorah.—As regards the “authorised” Hebrew, we should never forget that its origin is polemic, and not more critical than sectarian. “It was primarily directed,” says Ginsburg, “against the MSS. which exhibited the recension from which the Septuagint Version was made, as well as against the Hebrew text of the Samaritans.”¹ While the Babylon Talmud announced that the LXX. wrote under divine guidance and that their variations were inspired, the Rabbis of a subsequent age called their work a national calamity and the day on which it was finished, the 8th of Tebet, a day of ill omen.

We conclude that the Massorah was gradually wrought out between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. or even later; that it need not always, and sometimes must not be followed in preference to the Hebrew which underlies the LXX.; and that if on occasion the original is highly problematic or even lost, it is only what may be expected from so ancient and complicated a history. There is no reason to assume that Providence would interpose to prevent divergences of such a kind

¹ *Introd. to Heb. Massoret. Bi.*, 305.

as exist, if they take nothing from the Divine message. The substantial agreement of Vulgate, Septuagint, and Massorah, is undeniable. And since we do not possess the Hebrew original which lay before the Seventy, we have no alternative but to take as our primal text that very Massorah, using all our translations outside the modern vernaculars as lights upon it which may claim, according to circumstances, a value of their own.

It is curious that the Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament and the Catholic of the New Testament were definitely closed about the same time—between 140 and 180 A.D. The Muratorian Fragment, which is not much later than Pope Pius I., and which, if it be not certainly due to Hippolytus of Portus, betrays its Roman associations, marks the lower limit for the Christian inspired writings. But we are much in the dark as regards the place and the manner in which our catalogue was determined. The Mishnah, about 200, tells us that the disputes which had formerly taken place among the Jews died away under Rabbi Akiba (117 A.D.), and we may assign to the School of Tiberias, and to the years following Hadrian's dedication of Jerusalem as *Ælia Capitolina*, the Canon of Old Testament which became peremptory for Israel down to modern times. But the text, including its vocalisation as we now have it, was not settled until perhaps the eighth century A.D. To the Hebrew of his day St. Jerome appealed. But it was not quoted by the Fathers at large, who were unacquainted with Hebrew. It remained unknown to Catholic writers of the Middle Ages, with rare exceptions like Peter the Venerable and Roger Bacon. It furnished, therefore, to Christians no enlightenment on reading or authorship; so that we need not trouble to distinguish the Eastern school at Babylon (*Madinchai*) from the Western or Palestinian (*Maarbai*), which go back to the third century A.D. and have their separate tradition of exegesis. For they do not affect the real points at issue, though

useful as indicating the source whence variations arose in the LXX. and the "Chaldee" version of the Prophets. Our concern at present is with ancient Bible history, not with mediæval or modern.¹

Hebrew Canon Fixed.—We begin by pointing out an illusion which is very natural but unfounded, *viz.*, that the Canon of the Old Testament as held by the Synagogue (or the Hebrew Church) was defined and indisputable at our Lord's coming. Such was not the case. Had it been so, the Apostles and Evangelists could never have quoted from the LXX. as they constantly do, without some indication of the line which divided the smaller from the larger catalogue of sacred books. Even if we take the Palestine list, it is certain that various portions of it trembled on the edge between rejection and acknowledgment (such as Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Esther, Proverbs, and Solomon's Song) until the Rabbinical authorities at Jamnia (70 A.D. or thirty years later, about 101) admitted them.² Josephus, indeed (about 100 A.D.), makes the famous declaration that there are twenty-two sacred books which all Jews recognise, and which were composed before the reign of Artaxerxes (465-425 B.C.), adding, "From Artaxerxes to our own age, the history has been written in detail; but it was not esteemed of the like authority by our forefathers, because there has not been an exact succession of Prophets since that time".³ Philo, too, a contemporary of our Lord in Egypt, who did not understand Hebrew, never quotes from any but the Palestinian Canon. Yet Josephus is not consistent; for in his *Antiquities*, which are confessedly drawn from "sacred books," he relies upon 1 Maccabees and transcribes passages out of the Greek Esther.⁴ The Talmud, again, ascribes Wisdom to Solomon, calls

¹ On Massoretic text, *E. Bi.*, "Text and Versions," 40-43; Ginsburg, *ut supra*.

² Graetz, *Hist. Jews*, ii, 328 seq., Eng. Tr.

³ *Contr. Apion*, i. 8. ⁴ *Antiq.*, xx. 11; xii. 5; xi. 6, etc.

Baruch a prophetic writing, and quotes Ecclesiasticus by formulas of Holy Writ. These alternations do not prove that the "second" Canon was ever acknowledged at Jerusalem. But they suffice to show that, after the extinction of prophecy, the Synagogue had not so clear a means of judging what was canonical as would finally determine the list. When, however, Christians had in some sort appropriated the Septuagint, a line of demarcation was suggested and the Alexandrian additions were put aside by the Rabbis.

But is Josephus right when he declares that the Hebrew Canon was in fact completed during the reign of Artaxerxes? Or can we trust the apocryphal 4 Esdras, coeval with Josephus (about 84-96 A.D.), which tells us that the "Law was burnt," and that Esdras the scribe was divinely inspired to recover it? That in forty days he dictated to five other scribes "twenty-four books" (of the Old Testament), and seventy besides of a wisdom more recondite?¹ Or, as touching the sacred authors, may we put our confidence in a passage from the Talmud Babli (*Baba Bathra*, 14), which attributes the Bible to Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Jeremiah, Hezekiah and "his college," the "men of the Great Synagogue," and last of all to Ezra? The answers to these difficult questions make up a large part of what is now termed the Higher Criticism.

"Only twenty-two books," says Josephus, "which contain the records of all past times; which are justly believed to be divine. And of them five belong to Moses, which contain his Laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of three thousand years. But as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, the prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four contain hymns to God and pre-

¹ 4 Esdras xiv. 21, 24, 41-47.

cepts for the conduct of human life." It would seem that Josephus took the first apocryphal "Esdras" instead of our present "Ezra," and he "follows the arrangement and the computation current in Alexandria". This general view of the Biblical authors which, as is clear, he did not originate, prevailed among Jews and Christians until the rise of scientific literary methods.

In itself 4 Esdras deserves no credence whatever, though certain of the Fathers probably accepted its legend as a fact.¹ Those who allow, as Irenæus, that "the sacred writings had been destroyed in the exile under Nebuchadnezzar" and miraculously reproduced by Ezra, cannot be said strictly to have held the Mosaic authorship of the Five Books, or the Prophetic of any others. But we need not lay stress on this point. Outside the testimony in our canonical Ezra which represents its hero as "a ready scribe in the law of Moses," and the history therein set down, we possess no sure evidence concerning him.² That he established the "Great Synagogue," or that any such body existed, modern scholars generally refuse to admit. The conjecture is very recent, due to Elias Levita, who wrote on the Massorah in 1538.³ Apart from this, merely to examine the passage in *Baba Bathra* to which we have referred, will show how gratuitous and incoherent are its affirmations. "It should never be forgotten," says a learned Oxford professor, "that, especially with regard to antiquity, the Talmud and other late Jewish writings abound in idle conjectures and unauthenticated statements."⁴ And a German Catholic adds, "Any one acquainted with documents of that kind will know how untrustworthy they are. Flavius Josephus, the most com-

¹ Iren., iii. 21, *ap.* Euseb., *H. E.*, v. 8; Clem. Al., *Strom.*, i. 21, etc.

² Ezra vii. 6, 11, 21; Neh. viii. 1-3.

³ Kuenen says, *cf.* Neh. viii.-x.

⁴ Driver, *Introd. Lit. Old Testament*, xxxv.

petent of Jewish secular authors, is unspeakably free and inexact in matter of allegation. But the History of Josephus would be a classic when compared with old or new Rabbinical literature; we might describe it all as rather the Midrash of events than as their historical reproduction. It is marked in particular by a want of the critical sense which cannot fail to astonish Europeans.”¹

From these and the like arguments a conclusion follows of great importance. No collateral information deserving of credit is now available by which to determine the authors of the Old Testament. We are thrown upon the books themselves for data and premisses of our reasoning about them as critics. It is not so as regards the New Testament, which stands in a very different relation to evidence from outside. That Moses and the Prophets are, indeed, associated as authors with our sacred writings has ever been a tradition; but it leaves room for problems at once arduous and delicate, if not often insoluble, which the Fathers did not undertake and the Church has not in all cases officially contemplated. If we are unable to find a key to them in Scripture as it lies before us, other sources of information there are none. Of course there is a great Oriental history from which to borrow light, and we must use what it supplies. But Scripture is, as we have seen, *written* Tradition, attested by our faith and its keepers. Hence to explain the Bible, under such safeguard, from its own text, by comparison of parts, research into language, parallel statements, and the whole machinery of scientific scholarship, is not to forsake the Depositum but to adapt it to our needs. In so far as by doing so we clear up passages otherwise obscure, take away the reproach cast on Old Testament narratives or ethics by unbelievers, or trace the exact occasions from which the Messianic prophecies have

¹ V. Hummelauer, *Exeg. Inspirat.*, 118.

sprung, our enterprise may even be thought "a going on to perfection," after the "principles of the doctrine of Christ" have been laid down.¹

Canon of Ezra, Nehemiah, Maccabeus.—Josephus, in the citation given above, makes a threefold division of Holy Writ. The Prologue to Ecclesiasticus (130 B.C.) distinguishes "the Law, the Prophets, and the other Books". If the Canon was formed by degrees, which no one questions, this designation points to its different stages. There is no list of authors in the Prologue; none occurs in the New Testament where a like division tells us of Moses, Psalms, Prophets, including manifestly the books which all Jews acknowledged. In 2 Macc. we read that "Nehemias founding a library gathered together the acts of the Kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the Kings concerning the holy gifts".² The "Law" is here taken for granted, as already in existence, "brought by the scribe Ezra" to Jerusalem. That the Pentateuch formed a canonical sacred document earlier than 400 B.C. we know from the Samaritans who have kept it independently of the post-exilic Jews. We may call this recension, whatever it was, associated with Ezra, the first Hebrew Canon; and that from Nehemiah's time onwards, described above, the second. Then the third, unfinished and debatable, would consist of the "Hagiographa," "in like manner also Judas (Maccabeus) brought together all such things as were lost by the war . . . and they are in our possession". These floated down in controversy to Akiba's time; but they had been extant in Hebrew early enough to be translated and bound up with the Septuagint, perhaps about 100 B.C. We bear in mind always that the LXX. had many authors, passed through varying editions, and is no more one book of one period than is the Bible itself.

Authorship and the Fathers.—Our next proceeding

¹ Heb. v. 12; vi. 1. ² 2 Macc. ii. 13, 14.

takes us into the thick of modern research. The Fathers had no tradition to go upon except those scattered hints, quite uncritical, thrown out by the Jews. Mediæval scholastics were not concerned with questions of authorship, language, history, or sources. Real criticism dates from the seventeenth century; from Richard Simon, the Oratorian, and his work on the Old Testament (Paris, 1678), but its ascertained results belong to the last forty years. Remark, as a prelude to our account of them, the following:—

No decision, fixing the authorship of a sacred volume, was till lately given at Rome. The titles in the Canon are not inspired. Like those of Papal documents they serve as rubrics to the matter, not as subscriptions guaranteeing the writer's name. "The 'history of Livy,'" says Hobbes, "denotes the writer, but the 'history of Scanderbeg' is denominated from the subject."¹ Even should we meet them in the work itself, they need not be more than pseudepigraphs, as is clear from the Wisdom of Solomon, which no authority binds us to trace back to the son of David. Every title, therefore, stands or falls by its own merits. This does not imply that all questions regarding the author may be treated as indifferent. If St. Paul, for example, be denied his Epistles undoubtedly the faith is concerned to refute such hypotheses; but in many books of Scripture it is otherwise; we do not know and are not called on to find out, who wrote Kings, Chronicles, Job, Maccabees, to mention no others. Hence it is patent that inspiration, though admitted, does not tell us anything about the author except the bare fact that he was inspired. He may be unknown, or even pseudonymous, a compiler and editor as well as an original historian, poet, or legislator. In itself, the problem of authorship belongs to criticism; it touches the faith only in certain cases, and of these the Church is judge.

¹ *Leviathan*, xxxiii. 173.

"It does not much signify," says Melchior Canus, Tridentine theologian, writing in 1563, "to the Catholic faith that any book was written by this or that author, so long as the Holy Spirit is believed to be the author of it."¹ He refers to St. Gregory the Great who calls the question "very superfluous," and even "ridiculous," as though we should ask with what pen a man wrote his letter. St. Thomas, having these words in view, remarks, "It seems in a way superstitious that one should be very careful to inquire touching the instrumental causes [*i.e.* human writers] of the Sacred Scripture".² St. Augustine looks on such disputes with indifference, and St. Chrysostom equally.³ So Theodoret, "What matter if a Psalm be of one or other, since it is plain that all are written by gift of the Holy Ghost?"⁴ On this account the Fathers merely repeat what they have heard from the Jews, are divergent in their ascriptions, and betray none of the anxiety which is so marked in them where the "analogy of faith" seems imperilled. Not even St. Jerome thinks it his duty to be copious and accurate on this head; he writes with supreme tranquillity: "whether you please (*volueris*) to call Moses the author of the Pentateuch, or Ezra the restorer (*instauratorem*) of the same work".⁵

Coming down to modern theologians, we find similar principles expressed by Masius, Salmeron, Bellarmine, Lorinus, Pineda.⁶ One of the latest, Father Billot, S.J., while denying that "universally, questions concerning the persons of biblical writers belong to the Higher Criticism as to a reserved province," declares nevertheless, "It is of no consequence as regards the nature of an

¹ *De Locis*, i. 11.

² Greg. M., *Præf. in Job* (Migne, P. L., lxxv. 517). St. Th., *Proem. Sec. Expos. Cant.*

³ Aug., *De Consensu Evang.*, iii. 7; Chrysost., *Hom. in Gen.* ii. 2.

⁴ Theod., *Præf. in Ps.* (Migne, P. G., lxxx. 861).

⁵ Jerome, *Contr. Helvid.* (Migne, P. L., xxiii., 190).

⁶ See passages and references in Hummelauer, *Exeg. Inspir.* 103, 105.

inspired book who was its instrumental author".¹ The restriction implied may be sometimes of grave importance; but if a general axiom is to prevail, we must accept it from the unanimous consent of Fathers and divines just indicated. Inspiration is neither dependent on known and acknowledged authorship nor conterminous with it. And where inspiration does not set bounds the critic is free. Of course he is never free to indulge caprice, do violence to texts, or scorn historical proofs when they are forthcoming. But such maxims apply to all criticism, and are not derived from the sacredness of the writing under examination.

So much for the principles which Catholic tradition observes.

Historical and Literary Tests.—Furthermore, the critic, in dealing with Bible documents, will not pursue methods which elsewhere would be contrary to reason. The story of Israel, like that of Hellas or Babylonia, comes down in varied forms,—writings, memorials, reminiscences which feasts and customs embody, and in the people so far as they still survive. All this affords data of comparison and verification. The documents do not stand alone. Should those hitherto deemed the oldest turn out to be more recent, it is yet possible that they were founded on very ancient materials, and that evidence of such antiquity can be gained by looking into them with a view to it. The sources may go back demonstrably to a period which later editing has not obscured. Institutions need not be recent, although our actual record of them is comparatively modern. Traditions and usages have existed among nations for centuries without being inscribed on brick or parchment. Oral history goes on from one generation to another, irrespective of chroniclers. Thus, were the *Iliad* a cento put into shape under Pisistratus in the sixth century B.C. (an opinion once widely held), that

¹ *Vid.* Hummelauer, *l.c.*, 109, 113.

would not hinder it from being what it is, a faithful picture of the old heroic times. Nor would it make the war of Troy incredible, supposing we had no other grounds on which to question that war. Archæology might even supply proofs from its own stores ample enough to corroborate the Athenian Homer and to reveal a substratum of fact underneath his poetic handling. It is well known that something of this nature has taken place with regard to Troy, Mycenæ, and Crete. But the illustration will suffice.

On the other side, literary tests, however delicate, are not unreal. Certain differences of language, style and thought, carry in their train undeniable distinction of authors. 'It would be trifling to imagine that the characteristics which belong to all human compositions are absent from Scripture. And if present, they can be detected by the received critical tests and standards. Since the Bible is a library of books, those volumes will be subject to the laws that govern all books whatsoever, —among them to the laws which discriminate idioms, allusions, local colour, and the author's personal traits or peculiarities. We should not forget, moreover, that the chief conclusions of a sound criticism are furnished, not by literary analysis alone, but by a cumulative argument drawn from the growth of institutions as the Bible discloses it, or from the history studied in every light which it will yield.

CHAPTER II.

PENTATEUCH OR HEXATEUCH?

Beginnings of Modern Views.—We have now to consider our first problem. The legend of an Esdras Instaurator, current before 100 A.D., and never denied by the Christian Fathers, might seem to “prescribe,” as Tertullian speaks, against too literal an acceptance of Mosaic or Prophetic authorship in our strong modern sense. Thus, too, the Clementine Homilist (150-200), who ventures on a denial which cannot be sustained, “the Law of God was given by Moses without writing, and was written by some one, not by Moses”. Leaving out mediæval Hebrew disputants, we find Carlstadt († 1541) among the Reformers saying, “It may be held that Moses was not the writer of the five books”. Andreas Maas (Masius), a Catholic († 1573), taught that some late editor had revised the Pentateuch; and so did Bonfrère, S.J. († 1643), and Calmet, O.S.B. († 1757). Bonfrère in 1631 perceived that “the Book of Joshua is rightly joined on in order to the books of Moses, since it continues the history and includes the end to which the wanderings of the Patriarchs and the Exodus look forward”.¹ In other words, there is a Hexateuch. Thomas Hobbes, the freethinker, in his *Leviathan* (1651) says, “The five books of Moses were written after his time, though how long after it be not so manifest”.² Spinoza in his Tractate (1670) denies that the Pentateuch is an

¹ Compressed from V. Hügel's quotation, *Dub. Rev.*, No. 233, p. 317.

² *Leviathan*, xxxiii. 173.

autograph of Moses, and quotes Eben Ezra († 1167), who has anticipated the arguments drawn from anachronisms, etc., which bear on his contention. "We conclude," says the philosopher of Amsterdam, "that the book of the Law of God which Moses wrote was not the Pentateuch." He conjectured that Ezra was the real author, and wrote the historical books of the Old Testament.¹ Richard Simon, a few years later, by his *Critical History of the Old Testament* (1678), challenged the common view on a ground not unlike Spinoza's, but more in detail, calling attention to the many "doublets," or repetitions, which abound in narratives hitherto considered of one texture, and to the diversities of style. He also distinguished between the laws and the history, attributing the latter to public notaries—the "Sopherim,"—who were chroniclers by appointment. To Simon we may add the Socinian, Le Clerc (1685).

What we should observe here is the concord of schools and critics who were opposed in other ways; of Ebionite, Protestant, Jew, with unbeliever and Catholic, in the same negative established on particulars, not on assumptions *a priori*. True it is, as remarked by Spinoza, that "almost every one has believed Moses to be author of the Pentateuch; nay, so pertinaciously have the Pharisees upheld it, that they take any man for a heretic who deems otherwise".² And Bossuet's treatment of Père Simon is a well-known chapter. But the clue thrown out was followed up by Astruc, a Catholic physician, who in 1753 published his epoch-making discovery of two documents (A and B) in the Book of Genesis, each having its own name for the Deity—Elohim (God) in one case, and in the other, as it was then written, Jehovah (the Lord). These positions of Astruc, modified in part by more recent criticism,

¹ *Tract. Theo.-Polit.*, viii. 125-38, Tauchnitz ed.

² *Ibid.*, 125.

are substantially admitted to-day on all hands.¹ In 1798 Ilgen made out a second Elohist (now the document E), and not much of his finding is disputed.² Eichhorn introduced the dichotomy of Astruc to German scholars. The Higher Criticism began its remarkable and too often erratic course with a "fragment-hypothesis". But the next advance came from De Wette, who, in 1805, asserted that Deuteronomy was the book found under Josiah in 623 B.C. (2 Kings xxii. 8), and that it formed the latest addition to the Mosaic record. De Wette is reckoned the father of historical criticism as applied to Holy Scripture. He was not a Rationalist, as the term was then understood. According to him the Pentateuch is legend and poetry; the "Laws of Moses" are not antecedents of a later history to which they were unknown; and Jewish scribes have rewritten the chronicles of their nation so as to bring them into conformity with an idealised state of things which had never actually existed.

Theories of Reuss, Graf, Wellhausen.—From this man, after numerous adventures that brought little credit to the Higher Criticism, were derived the principles on which Vatke, George, and Reuss led up to the hypothesis of Graf which is now in the ascendant. Reuss in 1833 formulated twelve conclusions, not published until 1879, which carried the whole position. He distinguished between the history and the laws in Pentateuch. Either might be in existence, though unwritten. The national traditions of Israel were older than the "Mosaic" laws and on record earlier. Hence the development of laws should be carefully searched into. Judges, Samuel, Kings in part, contradict the laws of Moses, which cannot therefore have been known to their writers, any more than they were to the Prophets of 800-700 B.C. Jeremiah first knew of a written Code;

¹ Vigouroux, *Livres Saints*, etc., iii. 134, 144; Gigot, *Spec. Introd.*, 88-92.

² V. Hügel, *Docs. Hexat.*, 25.

his quotations belong to Deuteronomy, which is the oldest portion of the Pentateuch and is the book said to have been found in the time of Josiah. This divides the history of Israel into its determining parts. Ezekiel lived before the ritual code was definitely organised and the laws of the hierarchy established. The Book of Joshua is by no means the latest portion of the whole work (Hexateuch). And the editor was not the ancient prophet Moses.¹

Except in one single point, regarding the age of Deuteronomy, this programme has in general been adopted by nearly all modern non-Catholic students of the Bible. But the ideas of Reuss and Vatke "lay dormant for thirty years," until Graf in 1866 extended and enforced them independently. He suggested the order of documents which is now followed; leaving by his death to Kuenen (1869), Kayser (1874), and Wellhausen (1876-1878), the task since then all but accomplished of working out the evidence for it in "scientific" detail, if we grant these premisses.

Documents J. E., D., P.—Let us now inquire what the "documentary hypothesis" makes of the Pentateuch. On our attitude towards it will depend any general view which we take of the Old Testament Canon. While doing so we must bear in mind that by no breaking up or post-dating of canonical books is it implied that the Torah did not exist ere they were written. On all hands it is admitted (1) that "oral decisions of priests at the sanctuary" go back many centuries before such possible redactions; and (2) that Moses "may have been the founder of the Torah". Wellhausen writes of him that, at Kadesh-Barnea "he founded a stable centre for a legal tradition, and became the originator of the Torah in Israel, by means of which the sense of community and the conviction of God gained a positive ideal content".² "It cannot be

¹ *E. Bi.*, "Hexateuch," 4-II.

² Wellh., *Geschichte Isr.*, 17, 434, 438, etc.

doubted," says Driver, "that Moses was the ultimate founder of both the national and religious life of Israel"; he it was who gave them the nucleus of a system of civil laws and ceremonial ordinances; and it is reasonable to suppose that "his teaching is preserved, in a modified form, in the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant". Nor can we doubt that he set up a priesthood; or that it was hereditary, and had its own tradition of ritual. Hence the "ark and the tent of meeting" belong to the Mosaic age; Aaron the "Levite" held an official dignity; and the "tribe of Levi" had priestly duties and privileges. In its basis and origin Hebrew legislation was derived from Moses.¹ Since these words were printed, the discovery of Hammurabi's Code graven on stone, at Susa (1901), which dates back to the period 2350 B.C., has thrown a flood of light on the legal procedures of high antiquity, while curious parallels and contrasts to the enactments in our Pentateuch are exhibited in the 282 paragraphs of the Babylonian Lawbook.²

These, then, are the allegations upon which modern critics deny that Moses wrote the Five Books as we now possess them:—

Three strata of laws, they say, are discoverable in the so-called Mosaic legislation, not agreeing with one another, but corresponding with as many distinct periods of history and worship. Remember always that the Old Testament is not one book, but is made up of documents varying in age and authorship, which may consequently be cited as independent and external evidence, though all now printed between the covers of a single volume. Briefly, there are:—

(1) Laws of First Period, corresponding to documents Jahwist-Elohist (J. E.) and illustrated by Exodus xx. 24, 26. Many altars in use not of permanent struc-

¹ Driver, *Introd.*, 144-46. See Kautzsch, "Israel," *D. B.*, Extra Vol.

² Johns, *Babyl. and Assyri. Law Contracts and Letters*, Transl. of Code, 44-67.

ture, high places like Shechem, sacred trees, wells, mazzeboth. Date, as regards usage, perhaps a century after Solomon. J. E. written 750 B.C.

(2) Laws of Second Period, corresponding to Deuteronomy, polemical as maintaining *one* altar, permanent, with steps, at Jerusalem, and putting down high places as forbidden by Divine enactment. This Code begins in Deuteronomy xii., is known as D., and its publication fixed to year 622 B.C. May have been written about 650.

(3) Laws of Third Period, corresponding to Priestly Code (P. C.), which takes for granted the one sanctuary—the tabernacle—and is post-exilic. Date 444 to 397 B.C.

Order of Documents is, therefore, J. E., D., P. C.—To prove this relation of D. and P. C. (For that J. E. belongs to much earlier times is argued from grounds above, and will be further drawn out.) When local shrines, which did undoubtedly flourish down to Josiah, were taken away, the question arose what to do with local priests. Deuteronomy, in which they appear as Levites, permits them to offer sacrifice in Jerusalem. But they never did so, being opposed by the sons of Zadok, or the royal chaplains who dated from Solomon's time. And Ezekiel (592 B.C.) finds a reason for putting aside the legislation of D. as regards them, in their compliance with idolatrous practices, "when Israel went astray". The divine oracle affirms, "They shall not come near unto me to do the office of a priest . . . but I will make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof".¹ In D. the Levites have the Urim and Thummim, the linen or gold ephod, and minister at great shrines.² In Ezekiel the ornaments of priesthood are reserved to "the Levites, the sons of Zadok," to which house the prophet himself belonged. The absolute distinction between "priests" and mere "Levites" occurs only in Chronicles and in P. C., where it is taken as ordained by Moses (Num.

¹ Ezek. xliv. 10, 13, 14.

² Deut. xxxiii.

xviii. 2-6). Hence when Ezekiel wrote, it was not a settled thing, for he brings an oracle to decide it; and P. C. cannot have been in existence, much less acknowledged for the work of the great law-giver. The concentration of powers at Jerusalem and the setting down of local priests to be ministers under the family of Zadok was a gradual process, marked by steps like these.

Again J. E. and even D. indicate that the early dues, paid to Jahweh, not to the priests, were sacrificial meals at festivals in the various holy places. But P. C. lays down a system of taxes to be paid at Jerusalem to the clergy, and so burdensome that they cannot be reconciled with what is known to have been the king's dominion over the first Temple. Moreover, Ezekiel has nothing to say of such a High Priest as the Aaron of P. C.; but he allows much to the "Prince," while endeavouring to limit his rights within the sanctuary.¹ The High Priest in P. C. alone has the Urim and Thummim; his sons, and none other, succeed in his place; he wears crown and royal robe, and is exactly what the head of the sacerdotal order came to be after the kingdom had ceased, when Israel was no more independent but simply a Church under heathen rule. That state of things, which cannot be traced in olden times (Judges or Samuel), is found after the Exile, and P. C. with its legislation corresponds to the Second Temple. It is the latest of Pentateuchal documents. Or, to sum up, Judges and Samuel are acquainted only with legislation exhibited in J. E.; 1 and 2 Kings allow us to follow the struggle between that less centralised form and Deuteronomy which was an effort to have done with it; Chronicles only is an echo of P. C.²

The Argument from History.—Two points in this reasoning deserve our attention. It is not *a priori*; for instance, it does not deny the art of writing to

¹ Ezek. xlv. 1-18.

² Hastings, *D. B.*, "Hexateuch"; *E. B.*, 2050-57.

Moses or his generation, neither does it appeal to minute differences of style as determining how he must have written, if at all. But it appeals to the history of public institutions,—festivals, priesthood, altar and Temple service,—which is extant in records severally independent. We may call this internal criticism, for it lies inside the Old Testament; but as evidence it is external to the question which we are discussing, *viz.*, Did Moses write the whole Pentateuch? Now, were the Five Books composed in one literary style from Genesis to Deuteronomy, these historical differences, to which Jud., Sam., Kings, Chr., Ezekiel, bear witness, would remain what they are. The problem would still be, can the same law-giver have issued in forty years three divergent and conflicting series of laws, intended to regulate worship for all time to come? It is not resolved by supposing, entirely without warrant from the text, that Moses laid down provisional enactments suited to a camp in the Desert, and abrogated them by others which had in view a people settled at home, far from the Tabernacle. When we examine the passages quoted above and their context, we feel that such a method of interpretation is no less arbitrary than artificial. To imagine that Moses anticipated in a theoretic way, without occasion or demand, the involved cases and their solution which take up so much of Leviticus, Numbers, Deut., it has been said, is to suppress the development of Israel on religious lines. Can we quote a parallel? ¹

Again, no weight has been laid on parenthetical statements which cannot be attributed to Moses, whether historical, "The Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. xii. 6), "Before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 31), or geographical, as the names of Hebron and Dan, belonging to a later time, and points of the compass indicating a

¹ Hoberg, *Die Genesis*, xxv.; Lagrange, *Lectures*, 173, Eng. Tr.

Palestinian writer, etc. Interpolations, if such there were, of this kind, would prove nothing against a general authorship. The argument is neither captious nor narrow, but derived from a survey of events and writings extending over centuries. Yet the number of such editorial comments is very far from inconsiderable, and they add to the strength of the conclusion (which does not rely upon them) when it has once been granted—but that is the question.

The Literary Analysis.—Let us turn to the literary analysis. The Hexateuch contains 211 chapters, of which 79 belong to J. E. including 6 chapters of ancient poetry; 30 to D.; 89 to P. C.; 5 to the Redactor (R.), *i.e.*, to some uncertain sources. Thus J. E. takes up more than one-third, D. one-fifth, P. C. three-sevenths. Of the 79 chapters J. E., only 5 are legal summaries; but D. has 23 out of 30; and P. C. 56 out of 89.¹ Again, the Jahwist has 124 words and expressions peculiar to himself; the Elohist has 76; the Deuteronomist 107; the Priestly Writer 111. These numbers do not include proper names. A significant detail is that D. has more than 200 words in common with Jeremiah, whose “call” was 628 B.C. It is always easy to recognise the Priestly Writer; we find D. almost continuous; J. offers large passages of his own, and so does E. But remark that for critical results it is not the distinction between E. and J. which is most important, but that between J. E. and P. C. Hence it matters comparatively not much when difficulties meet us in disentangling the J. E. sections, of which we shall speak by-and-by.² Each of the four strata is present in long and pure succession without intermixture; each can be exhibited by special type, as is now often done. So that, if Moses “wrote” the Pentateuch, he compiled it from these four documents. But if J. E. can be traced into Joshua, which the critics attempt by analysis, and

¹ V. Hügel, *Docs. Hexat.*, 5

² J. and E. divided easily in Gen.; not in Exod. or later.

D. likewise, it follows that Moses, however many laws he promulgated still to be found in Exod.-Deut., was not the actual writer, though furnishing materials to other pens.

Some general characteristics may be noted. Each of these alleged writers is consistent in his handling and his point of view. He does not contradict himself. There is a similar framework, or arrangement, in all four which allowed of their fusion in the Hexateuch; but we are sensible as we pass from one to another that the intention is not the same. In J. E. contrasted with P. C. the difference reaches its maximum. J. is believed to have written in the Southern Kingdom, or Judah; while E. appears to be of the North, or an "Israelite". These two earlier story-tellers take us back to the popular traditions, the folklore and ancient tales, where the adventures of the hero fill the whole canvas and what we now term romance colours the atmosphere. They form, so to call it, a *Sagencyclus* or world of heroic episodes, over which the idea of Monotheism is everywhere visible. Their breath is poetry.

Quite foreign to all this, in P. C. we have to deal with a legal mind which does not linger upon the picturesque and human, but subordinates narrative to a religious philosophy or to the development of worship from primitive times until it grew into the full Covenant with Israel. P. C. is antiquarian—a Canon Law which absorbs into itself and sums up in fewest words the sacred history that had been vividly set forth by J. E. Its design is "pragmatic," in other terms it reduces events to a "whereas," from which enactments are drawn out and enforced. That lawyer cannot have been the man, it is argued, who gave us the story of Jacob or Joseph; and why should he have been?

The Deuteronomist, however, as we might expect, occupies a middle station and wields a more concrete style. He keeps J. E. before him; but "from time to time shows a leaning to the points of view characteristic

of the priestly narrator". And his moralising method, not so much individual as common to a school of reformers, may be pursued through the Books of Kings, all the way back to Samuel and Judges, even to the conquest under Joshua. Obviously, it had little scope in the story of the Patriarchs or the still more ancient days before Abraham. Deuteronomy holds out "an ideal of the religious community and its worship, projected into the golden age of the past as Ezekiel's is projected into the golden age of the future".

Having an "appearance of statistical exactness in matters of chronology, genealogy, census-lists, and the like," it was inferred that P. C. "had access to ancient documentary records". But the numbers which at present it contains were questioned by Colenso, before its distinction as a stratum of the Hexateuch had been pointed out. Extreme modern critics allege in its disparagement the lateness of certain portions (P. G.) and the character of its information. Yet very ancient customs are imbedded in it, as the "avenger of blood" (Num. xxxv. 21). That additions were made to it, especially by groups of laws; that its fusion with J. E. and D. took place after the Exile; that a "priestly redaction" governed by its ideas was extended over Jud., Sam., Kings; and that in this way "the great Hebrew history which we possess from the Creation to the fall of Judah" assumed its present form,—these were conclusions insisted on by the Higher Criticism as necessary for a correct view of the Old Testament Canon.¹

Diatessaron as Parallel to Hexateuch.—An ingenious parallel might be suggested between these four documents and the four Gospels; and the Hexateuch itself has been likened to Tatian's "Diatessaron," *i.e.*, Harmony of the Evangelists, supposing our Greek originals of the latter were not known except in Tatian's quoted selections. The Gospel of St. John (which was

¹ *E. B.*, "Hist. Lit. Old Testament," secs. 10, 11.

his *Grundschrift*) would illustrate in tendency and structure the attitude of P. C. towards its predecessors. And if Tatian had called his work after its principal source, we should not charge him with forgery. The historical truth of each portion is really maintained by referring it to its proper date, and by finding its context in the world-movement around.¹ So far as its materials are pre-Mosaic, there is no reason why Moses himself should not have dealt with them in writings on which the Pentateuch has drawn; still more so in its legal chapters, which cannot fail to incorporate the leading enactments, or to reproduce the institutions, whereby the greatest of the Prophets literally created Israel.

Moses Original Author.—To what extent these Mosaic foundations are traceable in a work so frequently edited is another question. But affirming them to be present, we see that an original authorship—far beyond the “Book of the Covenant”—need not be incompatible with recensions that belong to different periods. “The early Hebrew historians did not affix their names to their works; they had, indeed, no idea of authorship.” Codes of law are, by necessity, subject to continual changes and additions; but they keep certain names as titles, *e.g.*, Theodosius or Napoleon, however much revised. From all which considerations it is apparent that Moses might be held to have originated the Pentateuch, though not responsible for its every line, and be termed its author, since it embodied the work of writers who obeyed his inspiration.

One further remark by way of reconciliation between the old views and the modern critics. They can scarcely do otherwise than hold that from the beginning, under Moses in the wilderness, a special pre-eminence attached to the ark and the sanctuary where Jahweh abode. If Exodus xxiii. 19 was part of the primitive “Book of the Covenant,” that dignity found express mention

¹ V. Hügel, *Docs, Hexat.*, 28,

from the first. At Sinai Israel began to exist as a Chosen People with one Tabernacle and a Levitic priesthood. "It is highly probable," says Prof. Driver, "that there existed the tradition—perhaps even in a written form—of a final address delivered by Moses in the plains of Moab, to which some of the laws peculiar to Dt. were attached, as those common to it and J. E. are attached to the legislation at Horeb."¹ Thus, concludes another, the only long documents of which it is said, in so many words, that they were written by Moses (the Book of Covenant, *Exod.* xx. 22 - xxiii. 33; *Deut.* i. 6; xxxi. 9) would have come from his hand, while D. itself would turn out to be a recapitulation and development of these laws, discourses and writings.²

Two statements of a living scholar would seem to give us the main situation. On the one hand we read, "The literary foundation upon which the history and religion of Israel rested is, in its present form, a composite work". And on the other, "The archæological facts support the traditional rather than the so-called 'critical' view of the age and authority of the Pentateuch, and tend to show that we have in it not only a historical monument whose statements can be trusted, but also what is substantially a work of the great Hebrew legislator himself".³

Again, we have learnt that the age of the Exodus was, all over Western Asia, "an age of literature and books, of readers and writers, and that the cities of Palestine"—Lachish, Kirjath-Sepher, being witnesses—"were stored with the contemporaneous records of past events, inscribed on imperishable clay". That "the kinsfolk and neighbours of the Israelites were already acquainted with alphabetic writing"; and that "the wanderers in the Desert and the tribes of Edom were in contact with the cultured scribes and traders of Ma'in," who perhaps were among the first to employ

¹ *Introduct.*, 85. ² V. Hügel, *Docs. Hexat.*, 21.

³ Sayce, *Higher Crit. and Mon.*, 31; *Patriarch. Palest.*, iv.

it.¹ That the correspondence stored up at Tel el-Amarna (1400-1370) proves a constant intercourse between Egypt and Canaan, the widest diffusion of Babylonian literature, and the immemorial sanctity of Jerusalem. That indications up and down the Five Books, in Deuteronomy as well as in Genesis, point to a very high origin of their sources and may be derived from the cuneiform "libraries of Canaan". That Babylonian systems of cosmology and religious traditions were known to the Canaanites long before Israel entered their land ; whence we need not wait for the materials of the first chapters of Genesis until the Exile has given them, or deny an acquaintance with such ideas to Moses and his contemporaries. That the "lawgiver" and the "scribe," mentioned in that ancient song, the Song of Deborah, warrant us in admitting a written Torah centuries before the kingdom or Temple of Solomon existed. That, therefore, in our Pentateuch are embodied notices coeval with many of the events which they describe, and even anterior to Moses. And that in a world where writing met him on every side, for the chieftain who led Israel out of Egypt, and who made them a people, not to have written his enactments, or left an account of his mighty deeds, is beyond measure improbable. We can fully, therefore, accept Exod. xviii. 16, which brings before us the legislator Moses whose judgments are termed the *Toroth*, that is to say, the decisions of God.

These views, we are told, do much more than satisfy the requirements of Exod. xvii. 14 ; xxiv. 4 ; xxxiv. 27 ; Num. xxxiii. 1, 2. They go far in explanation of the two passages (Dt. xxxi. 9 ; *ib.* 24-26) which many apologists bring forward to prove that Moses wrote the entire Pentateuch. Accurately judged, the expressions "Moses wrote this law," "Take this book of the law and put it by the side of the ark of the Covenant," demonstrate

¹ Sayce, *Higher Criticism and Monuments*, 59.

only what they say ; the whole legislation is not covered by them, much less the Five volumes of a history such as we have it. But except in these four passages the Pentateuch does not allude to any authorship which connects it with Moses. It is composed in the third person, not the first ; it speaks of its hero in admiring terms which no prophet would have applied to himself ; as a whole it is anonymous. The references in Kings and Chron. by which men like Hengstenberg attempted to show that Israel and Judah always knew the Pentateuch, though often transgressing its ordinances, are not in themselves conclusive ; they would be intelligible on the literary analysis given by moderns, and must be reconciled with what we have quoted regarding the history of worship and ritual.¹ It may be replied with Hoberg, " The Pentateuch is due to a religious development from Moses to the Exile, on the basis of regulations written by Moses and forming the larger portion of the Old Testament Codes ".² Thus the moderns.

That Elijah, Amos, Hosea, who denounced the idolatries of Israel, should never have thundered against multiplying altars and offering sacrifice even to God on the high places, were such a book as Deuteronomy, the testament of Moses, known to them, which strongly forbade these things, is hardly conceivable.³ We resolve a complicated problem only when all its terms are accounted for. And since archæology permits us to hold that Moses did leave memorials, while literary tests and the actual story of Hebrew institutions compel us to acknowledge different strains in language, customs, ritual, and theology, present in the Hexateuch, we shall discharge these claims, it has been insisted, by looking on it as a compilation from which the lawgiver

¹ 1 K. ii. 3 ; 2 K. xviii. 6, 12 ; xiv. 6 ; xxi. 7 ; xxii. 8 ; xxiii. 25 ; 2 Chr. xxv. 4 ; xxxiii. 8, 18 ; xxxiv. 14 ; xxxv. 6, 12, etc.

² Hoberg, *Gen.*, xxvii.

³ For Elijah, *vide* 1 K. xviii. 30 ; xix. 10. *Vide* also, Hosea iii. 4 iv. 13 ; x. 8 ; Amos iv. 4 ; v. 5, 21, 22.

ought not to be separated, but which has passed through a number of hands. So runs the argument.

Objections to the Modern Theories.—But do not the views thus outlined contravene the “teaching and belief of the Jewish Church in the time of our Lord”? And has not that teaching been accepted by Christ and His Apostles, and inherited by the Church? No true Christian would run counter, if he knew it, to any “immemorial doctrine” of the faith which his fathers had taught him. Is the strict Mosaic authorship in this category? Reference is made to our Lord’s expressions, Mark xii. 26; Luke xx. 37; John v. 46, 47. It has been pointed out, in answer to the particular citations, that we cannot tell by what precise terms our Lord, who spoke in Aramaic, appealed to Moses and the Law. Another suggestion is that in using the language of tradition Christ and His Apostles no more determined its historical value than in using other popular forms of speech. It is an axiom, indeed, that whatever the Divine Teacher proposed for our learning cannot be set aside. But the inquiry now is whether He intended by His words to ratify the Hebrew tradition, about which there was no controversy. Did the matter come before Him as a judge, and did He pass judgment? That no direct question was raised is undeniable. If our Saviour decided anything, therefore, it must have been indirectly, or by implication.

Krypsis or Kenosis?—On the whole subject a preliminary debate has been instituted, by way of helping us to form an opinion. Three schools appear to divide theologians: (1) that our Lord possessing perfect Divine knowledge even as man, could not have spoken as He did if it were not the literal truth; (2) that He had assuredly such knowledge, but was not bound to share it with His disciples in these human details, and did, in fact, reserve it in His own breast—the doctrine of Krypsis; (3) that His knowledge as man, by a gracious condescendence, was limited in all such questions of

sources and authorship—the doctrine of Kenosis. Elder theologians favoured the first view ; recent non-Catholic divines have generally adopted the second or third. To the doctrine of Kenosis applied in the last-named manner Catholic sentiment is vehemently opposed. But it would not, apparently, demur to the notion of reserve or Kryptis, which is also a form of condescension, but which leaves in its fulness the Divine and human knowledge of our Lord, whether before the Resurrection or after it, as St. Luke represents Him on the way to Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 27).¹

“The law was given through Moses ; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ” (John i. 18). In this dogmatic formula the relation of New Testament as a history and a Dispensation to the Jewish Covenant is affirmed so clearly, that to impugn the existence of such a law derived from the lawgiver would be to overthrow the foundation on which Christianity has been set up. An “immemorial doctrine,” these and the like words do shadow forth, but it is one which concerns rather the facts in themselves than the literary analysis of their record. No investigations bearing on the latter point were undertaken by the Apostles ; and we could scarcely imagine their Divine Master turning aside from the Sermon on the Mount to argue such things with Scribes and Pharisees.² Problems of authorship were strange to the Hebrew temperament. Every book was submitted to interlineations and had marginal jottings which tended to coalesce with older texts. In the LXX. we remark how profuse are the variations ; and the free quotations from it that we find in New Testament prove once more an absence of critical anxieties to us incomprehensible, though not surprising if we have studied Eastern methods of literature. What is the conclusion suggested by these premisses ? Is it

¹ Hastings, *D. B.*, “Kenosis” ; Gigot, *Spec. Introd.*, 49-51 ; for argument from our Lord’s authority, Abp. Smith, *Pentateuch*, 25-42.

² Hummelauer, *Exeget. Inspirat.*, 86-90.

not that our special questions, being foreign to the Apostles, remain exactly where they would be if the New Testament, when it speaks of writings by Moses, used the current language but passed no judgment on it?

Recent Decisions.—On June 27, 1906, the Biblical Commission sitting at Rome declared: (1) that no critical arguments avail to call in question the "Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch," and that Moses was its author; (2) that such "authenticity" does not imply that Moses wrote everything in these books, "*omnia et singula*," or dictated them all to amanuenses, though he was the principal inspired author; (3) that he may have employed for his purpose written documents and oral traditions; (4) and that, while ascribing the Pentateuch as a whole to Moses, we may allow "*additamenta apposita, vel glossas et explicationes textui interjectas*," *i.e.*, additions, notes, and other marks of recension, in the course of time, without prejudice to the truth.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLIER PROPHETS.

First Law of Israel.—Moses, then, did set up in essentials a Theocracy at Horeb, and he left a Code of Laws, not by any means all recent, which included the Ten Words graven on stones and preserved in the Ark. We may read these ordinances now in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx. 22 - xxiii. 33), but it lies embedded within a prophetic and priestly narrative—J. E. passing on to P. C.—which further completes or revises the institutions by divine authority. Destructive critics observe that these chapters allow many altars, legislate for a settled people, and suppose an agricultural state. To which it may be answered thus: The establishment of a tabernacle began the movement which in course of time would lead to one sanctuary at Jerusalem. And the Israelites at Kadesh Barnea were not pure nomads, but tilled their lands as the Bedawin do now.¹ But, in general, it is true that the period from Judges to Samuel and far into the age of Kings presents those features which the Book of the Covenant also exhibits in its rites and customs. It is only afterwards that we hear the Prophets denouncing the high places and that Josiah will not tolerate them. We may describe this Covenant, therefore, as the First Law of Israel. References to

¹ On the fertile oasis of Kadesh B., *vide* Sayce, *Higher Crit. and Mon.*, 180. Also Lagrange, *Lect.*, 175. On Moses as merely local hero, who delivers the "Rachel Tribes" and leads them to Kadesh Barnea, see *E. Bi.*, *sub voce*, and also "Docs. Hex." and "Exod.," *ibidem*.

Moses in Old Testament outside Hexateuch are few but significant. As a prophet by whom the Lord brought Israel up out of Egypt and preserved him (Hosea xii. 13, a contested passage), as with Aaron and Miriam a deliverer of the people (Micah vi. 4, and compare 1 Sam. xii. 6, 8), as shepherd of the flock (Isa. lxiii. 12), as powerful by his intercession with God (Ps. cvi. 23, Jer. xv. 1). But the noblest of acknowledgments is found in this, that all who afterwards drew up laws for God's chosen race, except Ezekiel, sheltered them under the Mosaic patronage.¹

As in Judges, Samuel, Kings.—No chapters in the Old Testament are more picturesque, none more copious in striking traits and narratives of the utmost value for historians who deal with primitive usages and records, than Judges, Samuel, Kings. They bear the impress of truth and reality, which in the latter volume (Kings) is confirmed by Assyrian monuments. But they are anonymous. We know nothing whatever of the men that wrote them. All have been compiled from other sources, the Book of Jashar (2 Sam. i. 18), the Wars of the Lord (1 Sam. xviii. 17; xxv. 28), concerning which we are greatly in the dark; the Book of the acts of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 41), the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel (seventeen times), and ditto of the Kings of Judah (fifteen times). That these last three were official records is the obvious implication. The brief statistical notices in Kings are usually termed the Epitome. For the narratives we look to the prophets and their schools in the respective kingdoms.

From Judges onwards a development is traceable on the national side which, beginning with scattered heroic adventures and popular history, becomes annalistic, archival, reflective. Then the struggle between a civilised but corrupt society and the prophets who still breathe a desert air—between a Church emanci-

¹ Hastings, *D. B.*, Extra Vol., "Relig. of Israel," 625-34.

pating itself from royal thralldom and the classes which lusted after heathen rites and indulgences—takes on by degrees a more definite form. Samuel, Elijah, and Isaiah display the same principles and unite the stages of this long interval. For Samuel condemns by anticipation the abuses of monarchy; Elijah confronts Ahab in the apostate kingdom of the Ten Tribes; Isaiah transfigures the House of David to a religious hope and in the future King welcomes Immanuel. Be the editor's hand as visible as it is undoubted in the whole story, we yet discern this prophetic idea, not as something read into it, but as its kernel and significance, from the days when Judges rose up to defend their tribes until Samaria fell, carrying with it the ruin of the old sanctuaries, while Jerusalem itself, in losing its first Temple, opened the period of a legal, to be followed by a spiritual and Christian Israel. Such a history cannot be thought other than sacred, however on the surface it may appear to be secular; the issue declares it religious and of world-wide import. Under this light we perceive how and why it must be inspired. It sets out from the Book of the Covenant to arrive at Deuteronomy, which is indeed the Second Law.¹

Elohist and Jahwist.—Oral tradition in the shape of poems and tales, often connected with famous old shrines,—Bethel, Shechem, Gilgal, Hebron—then temple records and palace chronicles,—furnish the matter to be wrought up into narratives of which J. was the Judæan instance and E. the Israelite (or Ephraimite I.). E. is thought to be the later of the two. As customary in primitive writings both begin with a sketch of the world's creation, but we shall reserve comment upon it till our concluding part. When J. tells the story of the Patriarchs in Genesis it is not from antiquarian interest, such as we notice in the Priestly Writer; if Shechem has associations with Abraham, and Jacob anoints the

¹ *E. Bi.*, "Hist. Lit.," secs. 4, 5; Hastings, *D. B.*, Extra Vol., 645-50.

mazzebah of Bethel, these incidents are related because worship was long rendered at those sanctuaries. Parallels may be suggested from our Catholic shrines,—Assisi, for instance, where the Saint's life is bound up with his dwelling and pilgrims visit the holy spots, guide-book in hand. No one can read Genesis without feeling how that local religion chooses and colours the episodes in which Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph severally figure. The shrines bear witness to the heroes; they in turn glorify the sacred memorials, the oak of Mamre, the wells of Rehoboth and Beersheba, the pillar of Bethel, the heap of stones which Laban called *Jegar sahadutha* but Jacob called it *Galeed*, the altar at Shechem named "El the Mighty One of Israel".¹ These reminiscences of the Fathers were afterwards to be left in the shade; sacrifice and incense would no more be offered at such primæval centres; but when J. E. began that revolution was far distant. The same spirit is manifest in Judges, where local shrines play no unimportant part. We follow it all through Samuel; and it survives the setting up of the Temple at Jerusalem which was to conquer it in a later time.²

Editors of Genesis-Kings.—We do not know when J. and E. were combined into one narrative; the lowest alleged date would be 650; but a much higher is quite conceivable. However, it is of more consequence to observe that the method of Deuteronomy has been applied (necessarily backwards) to Kings and the previous histories in our present recension. Enunciated in Solomon's prayer on dedicating the Temple (1 Kings viii.) its principles are illustrated in his rise and fall; every Hebrew monarch is judged according to them; and the story of Judah and Israel becomes a Theodicæa which justifies the ways of God to men. The like moral is prefixed to Judges and lends it a framework; in the

¹ Gen. xviii. 1; xxiii. 17; xxi. 31; xxvi. 22-33; xxviii. 11-22; xxxi. 47; xxxiii. 20; Josh. xxiv. 32; 1 Sam. v. 18; vii. 12; xi. 15.

² Gunkel, *Die Genesis übersetzt*, for dissection of narratives.

rejection of Saul and the glorious reign of David it had been already set forth by the prophets, so that the Deuteronomist who comes later, according to modern theories, found but little to subjoin. Threads connecting more than one redaction in this "pragmatic" sense with our Book of Joshua have been brought to light; while the influence of P. C. or the source from which it came on our actual history (Judges-Kings) must never be forgotten. The chronology in particular is late and systematic, not derived in its earlier stages from documents but reached by calculation.

Here ends the first volume of the Hebrew Bible, inscribed as the Law and the Earlier Prophets. There never existed a separate Hexateuch. To round off our survey we just mention that the "Chronicle of Jerusalem" (our Chr., Ezra, Nehem.) which in Hebrew closes the Hagiographa or Ketubim, was composed by a Temple-scribe about 430 B.C. It has been happily termed an abridgement of the "Midrash on the Books of Kings".¹ The writer, who follows P. C. in his method, has occasionally made use of ancient sources peculiar to himself when dealing with genealogies and topography. We shall return to his compilation by-and-by.

Book of Joshua.—Joshua opens the Former Prophets. It is a history and a Doomsday Book, highly idealised, which D².² has brought into his general plan by adding a moral at the beginning and the end (i., xxiii.). Large sections (xiii.-xxiv.) exhibit the style of P. C.; we do not know who was the final editor. The earlier narrative (i.-xii.) is composite, perhaps the work of him who revised J. E., but who had some other materials to go upon. From the nature of the case Joshua himself bears a resemblance to Moses, which yet does not allow us to grant the contention of extreme critics, as if he were merely a reflection or "double" of the lawgiver. He is

¹ 2 Chr. xxiv. 27.

² D² is the name given to a second supposed editor belonging to the school of Deuteronomy.

subject, not author, of the book called by his name. The region, rather than the tribe, of Ephraim occupies our chief interest. Benjamin (which means the right hand, the "South," as in Gaelic "Deisi"), Judah, and Caleb, represent another stream of invaders, as hinted in the "Judaic fragment". But Joshua stands in person for the conquests of the House of Joseph. He sets up the tent of meeting at Shiloh and makes a covenant with the people at Shechem; while Eleazar, the son of Aaron, is buried in Mount Ephraim. These are Northern traditions of a type unmistakable. Influences not foreign to them dominate also the Book of Judges. There is no scheme of dates, and the materials are rather thrown together than wrought into a consistent whole.¹ Since it contains nothing of a new legislation, Joshua falls outside the Torah, and was easily joined on to the historical division which extends from the death of Moses to the ruin of the Temple. Its rank in the Canon was thus determined. But, of course, it existed in some less perfect state before the second Canon obtained recognition, as is shown by comparing the text of LXX. with Massorah. As regards the author, Catholic tradition seems to leave us entirely to ourselves. For the ascription to Joshua, though widespread, is not binding.²

Book of Judges.—Judges or "Champions" (*Shophetim*, in Punic, *Sufetes*) begins in close connection with Joshua's "Judaic fragment," which it repeats in its first chapter; but, except in the story of Samson, it deals in Northern episodes and looks on to Samuel as its prophetic term. Chapters xvii.-xviii. preserve a legend of the sanctuary of Dan; chapters xix.-xxii. are a Midrash, or moralising tale, associated with Gibeah, Bethlehem, Shiloh, and the tribe of Benjamin; both narratives stand apart from the rest of the book. It has a double introduction and these two appendices. The Hebrew text

¹ Driver, *Introd.*, 96-109.

² Gigot., *Spec. Introd.*, 213-24; Hastings, *D. B.*, ii. 784.

is defective; the Greek has come down in two very dissimilar forms represented by the Alexandrian codex (A) and the Vatican (B) each with subsidiary groups and versions. The Alexandrian (Lagarde) is considered the more primitive, and better exhibits the LXX. St. Jerome, who follows the current Hebrew of his day, uses a certain freedom in translating, and his Vulgate therefore leaves the text to be recovered from other sources. No consensus of divines affirming the authorship has ever been made out. And none of our modern commentators would uphold the original unity of its texture.¹

In Judges there is a "general idea," says Calmet, which begins ii. 6 and is brought down to xvi. 31. Men have called it recently the "pragmatic" formula, showing how Israel stands to Jahweh during these lawless times—"sin, chastisement, repentance, deliverance". But into that framework of edification a number of hero-tales have been set, the origin of which, manifestly local memories, cannot but lead us to imagine several redactions before the Deuteronomist took them in hand. Again, two groups of stories have been recognised, of which one (J.) belongs to popular folk tradition and the "Wars of Jahweh," but the second (E.) is prophetic in tone, carrying the development of Israel's religion from Joshua to Samuel (1 Sam. i.-xii.). Jephthah, and much more visibly Gideon, connect this twofold series, which centres round holy places, Gilgal, Shechem, etc. The parallel narratives, involving a degree of adjustment, have been traced in Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Abimelech probably, and Samson, as well as in the Gideon and Jephthah stories. We might ascribe the perfect fusion to D². But a further manipulation was required to give the book its place and meaning in the whole sacred history. Since D². is later than 621 B.C., the editor who followed him must be sought (as likewise would appear

¹ Lagrange, *L. des Juges*, xvi.-xx.

from his particular features), after the Exile, perhaps in the age of Ezra.¹

Deductions from its Critical History.—From these propositions, now widely accepted by orthodox writers, several important corollaries may be drawn. A document, though consisting of divergent materials, put together by more than one compiler, and as a volume hundreds of years more recent than its sources, which pass into it with all their *naïveté* of statement and bold poetical freedom, will yet be sacred and inspired if we find it in the Canon. Not of course that recognition gave it qualities which in itself it did not possess. But such qualities, we learn, are not incompatible with a kind of narrative in the highest degree popular, *i.e.*, coloured by all the vivacity of oral deliverance, abounding in folk-lore, intent rather on a picturesque setting of events and their heroes than on judging them from a religious or ethical point of view. Doubtless, the moral judgment is supplied by the Deuteronomist and subsequent editors, attached to the schools of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But the essential character of the cycle remains what it was, deeply and clearly human, national, patriotic. Inspiration adds a larger association; it takes nothing away from these attributes of the untutored songs and stories with which it deals.²

Of the chronology it may suffice to observe that one system appears throughout Judges-Kings. The thousand years reckoned from Exodus to the founding of the Second Temple are divided into equal parts—500 to Solomon's dedication, 500 to the building under Darius. A generation is counted as forty years; twelve are comprised in Judges, and as the story proceeds by cycles we cannot look upon the figures as more than approximate. The instance of Hecataeus of Miletus, who employs the

¹ Lagrange, *Juges*, xxxvi.; Moore, *Book of Judges*; and E. Bi., *sub voce*.

² Meignan, *De Moïse à David*, 401; Gigot, *Gen. Introd.*, 537; Schaanz, *Apol.*, ii. 434, Eng. Tr.

same method (forty years = generation), will explain and justify it. One monument, Deborah's Song, is contemporary, though a little revised. In general, "the traditions were fixed in writing before the momentous changes which the kingdom wrought had had time to make such a state of things as is represented in Judges unintelligible or unsympathetic".¹

Book of Ruth.—We can hardly question the Hebrew order which unites Judges with Samuel, despite the interpolation of Ruth at this juncture in the LXX., Vulgate, and English catalogues. Ruth is second of the Five Megilloth, or Festal Rolls, which being placed among the Ketubim are in the third Canon, neither prophetic nor historic according to the Jews, but in some way ethical. Its subject, however, and the genealogy of David which concludes it, were probably reasons which determined its position in the LXX. Nothing is known of its author; and while the date assigned by some critics would take us lower than the second Canon, others perceive in its antique reminiscences and freedom from legal dryness arguments for assigning the story itself to a much earlier time,—as of the Second Isaiah. Evidently, these are problems of history and scholarship, with a very remote bearing on dogmatic premisses.²

Samuel 1-2.—Samuel-Kings form one volume, as indicated by the Vulgate and LXX. The famous "armed preface" (*prologus galeatus*) which St. Jerome sent out with his version, tells us why he wrote "Books of Kings," not "Kingdoms," as the Greek has it.³ Samuel was not the author, and can scarcely be termed the chief subject, of the two divisions called after him, which in the original are unbroken. Historically, we may consider 1-2 Samuel as an account of Samuel and Saul down to the latter's rejection, of David and Saul in conflict, and of David at Jerusalem (1 Sam. i.-xiv.; xv.-

¹ *E. Bi.*, 2641; Lagrange, *Juges*, xxxviii.-xlv.

² Vigouroux, *M. B.*, ii. 75; Driver, *Introd. Lit. Old Test.*, 425.

³ *Vide* Jerome's words in prologue to Latin Vulgate.

xxx. i. ; 2 Sam. i.-xxiv.). The real subject is "the creation of a united Israel". There are three concluding summaries, which proves that the book had here come to a definite close. As many as sixteen parallel sections to the Books of Chronicles have been numbered, and official sources are implied by the lists of heroes and other statistics.

That Samuel is a compilation of the most involved character is hardly open to question. Ancient sources like the Book of Jashar meet us in the text ; four strata have been recognised in it on lines now familiar to us, —a double history, revision by school of D. (especially 2 Sam. vii.), final Midrash. The literary arguments, as well as doublets and variations in the story, bear out these inferences. A shorter recension of 1 Samuel xvii.-xviii. is extant in Greek, whether abridgment, by way of harmonising, or first edition cannot well be decided. But though the Vatican LXX. omits over forty verses in these chapters, tokens of diverse narratives remain. That the groundwork is pre-exilic, akin to E. and very ancient, we may take for certain. The second narrative would be similar in treatment to D. of Pentateuch and D². of Judges. Modern critics are always ready to assign a late date for pieces such as Hannah's canticle and the "song of the bow". 2 Samuel ix.-xx. appears to come from a single hand, coeval with the events described ; and the history of David (1 Sam. xv.-2 Sam. v.) is well connected.

Who the original authors were we have no means of finding out. But the other Books of Kings are not by them ; style, language, plan, literary methods forbid it. That the entire series underwent a single last revision is very likely. On the whole, Samuel affords a fine instance of Hebrew writing and history, not without elements taken from popular tradition, in parts tangled, but direct and primitive. The colour is often very old ; where it describes David's life at Jerusalem "the style is singularly bright, flowing, and picturesque". Samuel

was never used in the regular service of the Synagogue; hence the large discrepancies between Greek and Massorah.¹

It should be noted that if handling by D. is admissible, yet no trace of Josiah's reform occurs in the narrative. This points to a redaction before 621 B.C. Expressions which imply that Israel had broken off from Judah may be due to a later hand than the writers of the book at large. Those critics who will not associate Messianic hopes with David find other difficulties, but more or less *a priori* and theoretical; to them ch. xxii. of 2 Sam. (David's psalm of thanksgiving) is post-exilic, without value as history. It is not repeated in Chron., whence Budde has argued that it was inserted in Samuel afterwards. This kind of problem will meet us again, and is in part highly dogmatic. How to reconcile the David of Samuel with his representation in Chron. and Psalms had been a subject for theologians long before it engaged the students of philology. We may say at once that Catholic tradition never will give up the Messianic aspects of David and Solomon, which form a part of Christian teaching, essential to our belief about Jesus Himself. The witness of Israel becomes at this point not simply historical but religious and supernatural. And it has been well observed that "the great facts of history," such as these, "are beyond the reach of mere literary subtleties".²

Kings 1-2.—1 and 2 Kings, distinct as we have seen from Samuel, are later than 535 B.C. The narrative is badly divided in our Bibles, which follow the LXX. Starting with Solomon, or "Israel under the one true sanctuary," it goes down to the release of Jehoiachin from prison by Evil Merodach, King of Babylon, in 562. The natural sections are "Solomon" (1 K. i.-xi.), "Israel and Judah" (1 K. xii.-2 K. xvii.), "Judah" (2 K. xviii.-xxv.). Like the centre-piece of Judges it has been compiled from ancient materials; the framework con-

¹ Driver, *Introd.*, 173; *E. Bi.*, 4278-80.

² Lagrange, *Lect.*, 174; Hastings, *D. B.*, "David," 571-72.

sists of dates, authorities, reflections on the character of the various kings; and this all now admit as betraying the hand of the Deuteronomist. The high places are unsparingly condemned by him, though not in the narratives which he has wrought up to a whole. We have already mentioned the books from which he quotes, and his "Epitome," distinguishing him from the prophetic sources. The Temple archives were also probably at his disposal. Between Kings and Chron. the resemblance of passages too numerous for a detailed mention proves that they both make use of a common treasure. If we allow certain post-exilic references to be interpolated (as customary in Hebrew literature), the main redaction need not be later than 600. There exist different MSS. of the LXX., and the best may exhibit as good a texture as the Massoretic,¹ from which it varies considerably.

We ought not to overlook here and elsewhere the humble but important observation that in ancient works of literature footnotes, appendices, lists of errata, and the like were unknown. Editors, nay, authors, made corrections by inserting later clauses, often to the distortion of the phrase or mingling of sentences. A curious illustration occurs as late as St. Paul to the Corinthians (1 i. 14-16). This comes out plainly in Greek Kings. While we perceive "a certain uniformity" in our historian, the materials are not thoroughly sifted and arranged; one consequence of which is that the time-scheme applied to both kingdoms by synchronism abounds in difficulties.

Scheme of Chronology.—The key to it is 1 Kings vi., which Wellhausen thinks not original, but post-Babylonian. It counts back from 535 B.C.; has the round numbers 480 and 240; and trisects its period by the 160 years to 23rd of Joash, as many again to death of Hezekiah, and as many more from accession of Manasseh to the Exile. These interesting lights show us that

¹ Driver, *Introd.*, 175-93; "Kings" in *E. Bi.* and Hastings, *D. B.*; Gigot, *Spec. Introd.*, 266-89.

particular events were fitted into the system as best they could be; and we are not to demand what the calculation never promised, literal exactitude. A date of the first importance is the captivity of Israel, consequent on the fall of Samaria. By the system it appears fixed to 737; but we know from the precise lists of the Assyrian eponymns that Samaria was captured by Sargon in 722.¹ No commentator would affirm that such a discrepancy affects the sacred character of the Bible.

St. Jerome, with customary freedom, puts the dates aside. "Read over," he says, "all the books of Old Testament and New Testament and you will find such difference of years and numbers between Judah and Israel, *i.e.*, the kingdoms confused, that to linger upon these questions would seem the part not of a student but of one who has nothing else to do." A modern commentator subjoins: "The chronology of the royal period is not ascertained; it varies with the various authors. The system generally received is arbitrary, and supposes that there occurred in Israel one or two inter-regna of which the Bible record makes no mention." Under the circumstances, St. Jerome's principle may be invoked, "many things are related in Scripture according to the opinion of the day, and not according to what in reality took place". Or, to quote a recent Roman professor, Cornely, "If in the Sacred Books God had intended to teach us chronology and history, Providence would have taken care that dates, persons, names of lands and peoples, should be preserved without error. But how great is the uncertainty of these particulars in our editions, who does not know?" And a German Catholic author concludes: "The sacred writers leave the responsibility of borrowed statements to the source whence they drew them, or follow a recognised way of thinking and speaking".²

¹ Schrader, *Cuncif. Inscript.*, i. 263-64, Eng. Tr. (1888).

² St. Jerome, *Ad. Vital.*, Ep. 71; Vigouroux, *M. B.*, ii. 95-99; *Liures Saints*, iv: 499-507; Cornely, *Introd. Gen.*, 582; Schanz, *Christian Apol.*, ii. 434, Eng. Tr.

Truth and Candour in these Documents.—As regards the compiler's religious temperament, it is shown very clearly by his narration of that commanding event, the public recognition of Deuteronomy by King Josiah and his people. The language of D. is frequently traceable and its thought shapes the writer's judgment; towards the end of Kings resemblances to Jeremiah become exceedingly strong; it has even been held that the prophet was the compiler. But of this we have no other evidence. Circular arguments in literary analysis deceive many, and it is difficult to escape them. Where no pressing need occurs to determine the author (and what need in this case?), abstention from surmises may be wisdom. Kings, like Samuel, Judges, Joshua, we must reckon to be anonymous. An experiment thus repeated will bring home even to Western minds how little did the Oriental historian appeal to his own authority when writing, or take pains to subscribe his documents. We have before us an inspired text; but tradition probably never knew the names of its inspired authors. In a true sense the authorship was collective, that of a school, Jahwist, Elohist, Deuteronomic. So, too, Greek students tell us of the Homeridæ, from whom we have received the Iliad. However sharp the critics' weapon, it seems unable to make perfectly clean divisions. We shall never get a list of independent writers, much less be qualified to call their names, in works conceived on this plan. But in the Bible their truth is assured by the seal of inspiration to which tradition testifies, and by their transparent simplicity, earnestness, and reference to sources far older than their editing. Those variations in detail which they set down side by side, are eloquent proofs of a candour that simply handed on to after times what it found in its materials. The retrospective judgment does not alter them. That our history of Israel and Judah can be relied upon is the verdict of all critics, even where some as Rationalists have put from them narratives in which the supernatural

played its part. Obviously, such disputants trust in their own assumptions, and subject literary methods, as well as historical evidence, to an *a priori* standard. But the general course of things from Joshua to the fall of Judah is impugned by no one.

Chronicles belong to an age so different, and were written under circumstances so little resembling those of the present period (1200-600 B.C.), that it will conduce to a better apprehension of their drift and contents if we study them along with the Hagiographa. Our next inquiry must have regard to the Prophets.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LATER PROPHETS.

Great Divisions of Old Testament.—Pentateuch, Prophets, Psalms are the great divisions of the Old Testament. Each of them is connected in Hebrew and Christian tradition with a leading name—Moses, Isaiah, David. The LXX. avouch this conviction as well as the synagogue that presided over the Palestinian Bible. It is echoed in Ben Sira (xlv. 1-5 ; xlvii. 8-10 ; xlviii. 22-25), which takes us back to about 200 B.C. Therefore, in substance, it cannot be reasonably doubted ; for these attestations imply a public official belief and are in themselves trustworthy. There is something impressive in the grouping, and to a religious mind it is Providential. On the part of Deity we recognise the gift of Law, of Light, of Grace ; on the part of man the corresponding virtues of Obedience, Faith and Holiness. Such are “those things which cannot be shaken” (Heb. xii. 27) by any new discoveries, for the seal set upon them is a part of Scripture itself. But as we have allowed in Moses rather a creative influence pervading the Five Books than a technical authorship attaching to every sentence, so we may look upon Isaiah and David as centres round which other prophets and psalmists are clustered, if an examination of style, circumstances, or contents, should require it. For an apparently simple tradition one more elaborate may be substituted, when the inspired documents on a scrutiny furnish thereto satisfactory data. This proceeding would be not only analytic but constructive, yielding its due to each several strain in the whole evidence.

Composition of Isaiah.—In the Hebrew "Later Prophets" Isaiah comes first, and includes sixty-six chapters. Jeremiah has fifty-two, Ezekiel forty-eight. We infer that the editors arranged them according to size. The Minor Prophets are put together in one series afterwards, albeit Hosea preceded Isaiah some twenty years. Amos also delivered his message earlier. In the Talmud, however, the arrangement Jer., Ezek., Isa. has been indicated, which would make for modern views now to be considered.¹ Ben Sira's large reference above is found in the Greek, the Syriac and the newly discovered Hebrew text. Add in favour of tradition, Ezra i. 2, interpreted by Josephus. Some fifty exact quotations from Isaiah, and more than forty not literal, occur in New Testament. The prophet's name is given fourteen times; citations are from twenty-four chapters, including fourteen from section xl.-lxvi. Outside the New Testament Barnabas and Clement of Rome make between them thirty-seven allusions to the whole book, concerning the unity of which no doubt was put forward except by Eben Ezra, the mediæval critic, until Koppe (1779-1781), whom Döderlein followed immediately. This latter German distinguished two Isaiahs, and the second (the "Great Unknown") was judged to have written the last twenty-six chapters about 540 B.C., not many years before Cyrus permitted the Jews of Babylon to return from captivity—a view widely accepted by Protestants. Of late the system has been much complicated by further analysis. But, disregarding this for the while, it may suffice to observe that when the larger section had been made, others in the First Isaiah seemed necessary (xiii.-xiv.; xxi. 1-10; xxiv.-xxvii.; xxxvi.-xxxix.). The two parts might be contrasted for remembrance as the "Jerusalem" and "Babylonian" Isaiah.

Since no one doubts the prophet's existence, or that

¹ Talmud, *Bab. Bathr.*, 14, 15.

his messages are contained (even if but fragments) in our actual text, the arguments from citation in Ecclus. and the New Testament are met by extending their connotation. "Isaiah" would mean the prophetic roll which begins with his writings, but which need not be exclusively from his hand—the "current volume," or the "anthology," so to speak. We have seen that St. Augustine employs a method which is not dissimilar, setting little consequence on the name of Zechariah or Jeremiah, provided the text be inspired.¹ Now, there is no question touching the inspiration of our entire and actual volume, or its right to be termed the "Book of the prophecies of Isaiah". But what reasons are alleged to restrict the prophet's share in it?

Arguments for Several Authors.—Here we should be careful not to miss the point of view. The grounds for postulating a Babylonian Isaiah are not, first of all, literary and internal; they are taken from what we know of the events with which our prophet was associated in 740-700 when compared with another series of incidents long after his time, in 550-536. Historically, the man of whom we are sure dwells in Jerusalem one hundred and sixty years before it is destroyed. He has no concern with the Exile. He stands over against Assyria. The crowning act of his age is that catastrophe which in 701 befel Sennacherib. No peril from the "Chaldæans" threatened Judah. The rebel king of Babylon, named Merodach Baladan, who in 711 sent an embassy to Hezekiah did so in the hope of an alliance which might help him to defeat the Assyrians; and these under Shalmaneser, Sargon, Sennacherib, were conquerors to whom Jerusalem was a hindrance in their march upon Egypt. Sennacherib destroyed Babylon in 692; but this, instead of being a protection to the little mountain-kingdom of Judah, would rather have proved a menace, by no means a

¹ *De Consensu Evang.*, iii. 7.

subject for rejoicing. If xxi. 1-10 were original, evidence to this effect would be at hand. All these circumstances give us the occasions on which a divine teacher at the royal Judæan court would be impelled to utter his message, fraught with demands for repentance, threats of chastisement from enemies coming on, and promises of pardon and future glory for the penitent House of David.¹

We cannot tell when or how the "grandævus senex" of our tradition died,—legends are not to be trusted,—but that such as the above was his political horizon we do know, and in 2 Kings xvii.-xx. it is vividly described. Assyria comes before the reader as a deadly foe to Hezekiah and Jerusalem; Babylon as a friend seeking allies. The situation corresponds with passages not questioned in our book that give its religious interpretation (leaving chapters xxxvi.-ix. out of sight for the moment).

But Isaiah xl.-lxvi. introduces us to quite a different scenery, geographical, political, and prophetic. Unless the general heading of the volume covers it (which is the matter in dispute) that section remains anonymous. From the earlier part it is separated by three chapters of history, not in Isaiah's manner. Its date is fixed by the mention of Cyrus III. (as we know him to be), the son of Cambyses and King of Elam, who conquered Media in 550 and Persia in 548, and who was to enter Babylon in triumph, October, 538. Had this great prophecy not been attached to the roll in which Isaiah held the opening place, no commentator would have shrunk from fixing it to the period thus plainly indicated. The analogy of prophetic addresses and oracles would lead us to hold that between this message and the circumstances which gave rise to it there was a contemporaneous historical association. So it is in the elder Israelitish denouncers of idolatry,

¹ Sayce, *Anc. Empires of East*, 126-35; Robertson Smith, *E. Bi.*, "Isaiah," xiii., 378.

Elijah, Elisha, Hosea, Amos; the like is manifest in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. One other instance of a prophecy detached from its immediate horizon is brought forward, that of Daniel. But there also research has found a problem, if it has not resolved it. What we have to weigh in a just balance are alternatives, one of which follows the usual course of Old Testament predictions, while the other is almost, or quite, without a parallel. If attestation going back to the time made it certain or probable that Isaiah of Judah foretold the Persian triumph and the return of the captives, we should never, being orthodox, dream of opposing to that witness the limit invoked by Rationalists. But is there such a decisive tradition? For, as we have been taught, the titles in our Canon do not guarantee authorship in the modern sense.

If, then, a so-called "dogmatic" argument is used to divide Isaiah, it consists not in a denial of possible prophetic vision extending to far-off periods, but in the structure of the Old Testament viewed as a whole, or in the use and wont of divinely enlightened seers. Nothing could be more orthodox. It is a cumulative and prescriptive manner of reasoning, not abstract, but founded on induction from particular instances. The alternative resembles a violent if not unnecessary exception. Orthodox critics, of course, have ever believed that one and the same prophecy may keep in view more than a single *terminus ad quem*; in application it will admit of enlarged fulfilment. But the question here is of a *terminus a quo*. For the divine messenger does not speak in the air; his audience are his contemporaries, and he is bound to interest them practically by dealing with events in which they have an immediate, a pressing stake. In other words, the Old Testament contains no prophetic romances thrown up into the future as if mere speculations. This applies to Daniel not less than to Isaiah. Even that wonderful forecast of Moses which fills chapter xxviii. of

Deuteronomy, and certain verses of which would seem to depict not only the Babylonian captivity but the dispersion of the Jews in times far distant (such as it came to be in the Christian Middle Ages), finds its occasion and starting-point in a solemn recapitulation of the Law.

But for the second group of predictions there is no connection brought into line with Hezekiah's reign and story. To make it proceed from the embassy of Merodach Baladan would be to suppose that the teacher launched out into a description of events terminating an Exile of Judah yet to be, while about the Exile itself he had but spoken a passing sentence. What would be the drift, what the moral force, of delineations apparently so unreal? The "sustained transference" to a future, remote by more than a century and a half; the "detailed and definite" painting of circumstances, with a king's name like Cyrus plucked out of infinite possibilities, are indeed not to be rejected as inconceivable. But without evidence equal to their demands on us, why should they be preferred before an hypothesis to which Hebrew customs of editing and preserving books lend an air of probability? Neither from the general concept of inspiration, nor on Messianic grounds, does it seem to be required. For both sections are due to the Holy Spirit; and in each the Messiah is symbolised, whether by personal characteristics or by national features. No article of the creed has ever been deduced from the *unicity* of our volume as such.

At this point may be submitted the difference of style between the two Isaiahs, on which it would have been hazardous to lean the whole weight of argument. Observe what it really comes to. It is not such a difference as can fairly be accounted for by the half-century during which our prophet wrote. Nor will variety of subject explain it. The early chapters, terse and restrained, have not only a rhythm of their own, but imagery and allusions (what is termed a *copia ver-*

borum) of which in the later not a trace can be discovered. And some of those "first" chapters (xxix.-xxxiii.; xxii.-xxxii.) directed against Assyria, were written, it is calculated, when the prophet was sixty years of age. As for the subject, Babylonians and Assyrians might have furnished to the same author themes nearly identical. But in xl.-xlviii. the manner is flowing, the tone impassioned and persuasive, the tendency to lyric outbursts is marked. To which must be added a consideration going beyond style, and certainly more in keeping with what we know of exiled Judah; the doctrines touching God's majesty, a suffering holy remnant, Israel's mission to the Gentiles, are all further developed in a way to suggest that experience, not mere anticipation, lies at the root of this teaching. The Messianic King of Isaiah in Jerusalem offers one aspect of Christ; the righteous Servant of Jahweh who redeems men by His afflictions another. They meet in the fulfilment; but in prophecy they are to a certain degree separate and parallel.¹

More Complete Analysis.—Many cross-questions are still left over. The exegetical data supplied by 2 Isaiah land us in problems hitherto not susceptible of a clear disentanglement, but since 1890 much tormented by critics. Chapters xl.-xlviii. (the Cyrus section) exhibit a unity of their own, from which we proceed to lii. 12, where the command to depart out of Babylon is ready to be accomplished. Seven additions are reckoned from this point to the end of the volume. Who is the servant of Jahweh? (xlii. 1-4; xlix. 1-6; l. 4-9; lii. 13-liii. 12). Prophetically, Christ our Lord; but immediately and for that generation? Is it Jeremiah, or the spiritual Israel personified as distinct from the heathen? Conjectures are many and various. While some would perceive in that mysterious figure elements more ancient than the Exile, others term it "an imaginative fusion

¹ Driver, *Introd.*, 223, 225-229; Hastings, *D. B.*, ii. 493.

of all the noble teachers and preachers of the Jewish religion in and after the time of Ezra".¹ The portion xlix.-lv. is now, therefore, assigned to a different writer from 2 Isaiah. We may call attention to the identical ending of xlviii. and lvii. Three brief soliloquies in lxi. belong to the "Servant". Chapters lvi.-lxvi., though again divisible, are brought down to the days of Nehemiah; lxiii. 7 - lxiv. 12 depict a moment of persecution, perhaps under Artaxerxes Ochus (424-405). "The final redaction of xl.-lxvi. may be placed with probability in the early part of the Greek period," and "the first half of Isaiah was completed between 250 and 220"—a very hazardous post-dating.²

These considerations, whatever be their value, enable us to understand how Isaiah of Jerusalem has been ousted even from the first thirty-nine chapters to a large extent; i.-xii. was allowed to be of his composition, perhaps collected by him. That view is now modified. We cannot pursue the argument in detail; and we should be on our guard against dissection which never escapes the uncertainty of its premisses. Why the "burden of Babylon" can scarcely belong to 700 B.C. has been touched on already. The best commentary on it is the long prophecy against "Babel" written in as fierce a spirit (Jer. l.-li.) though by another hand. When a message can find its place in the Assyrian period, no reason for denying the Isaianic authorship has any great weight. The episodic chapters, xxiv.-xxvii., though obscure, seem to indicate Babylon and the early Exile. So xxxiv.-xxxv. against Edom is dated after 586. The chapters which describe Sennacherib's advance and catastrophe, identical almost in language with 2 Kings xviii.-xx., need not be the prophet's handiwork, but were perhaps taken from the royal chronicles. Attention has also been drawn to the perspective-like assignment of various Assyrian invasions

¹ Cf. *Encycl. Brit.*, *ut supra*, xiii. 381; *E. Bi.*, ii. 2205.

² Cheyne, in *E. Bi.*, 2207.

to that single monarch (xxxvi. 19) in illustration of a lower date.¹

Such, then, is the modern position, at least in outline. Where it depends on a Rationalistic *a priori* objection to prophecy at large, or to the forecast of particular events, it is plainly repugnant to the whole Christian teaching and cannot be maintained. For a criticism of its arguments in this light no room is needed.² On the other hand, we must allow that efforts to prove the intrinsic unity of these sixty-six chapters meet with serious obstacles. In fact, not one of them can be deemed successful. That a deep division existed where the moderns have found it was known to the Middle Age. St. Thomas Aquinas wrote: "In the first part (i.-xxxix.) is set down the commination of God's justice unto the ruin of sinners; in the second the consolation of God's mercy unto the resurrection of the just". And after him Lyranus, "the process of this book is separated into two parts—the casting down of sinners and the exaltation of saints".³ And the triple division, i.-xii., xiii.-xxxv., xl.-lxvi., with so large an insertion as xxxvi.-xxxix. breaking their synthesis, will be patent to every reader. Now the question for critics is whether all these parts are covered by that opening verse, "The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah—Hezekiah, Kings of Judah". Do not these words preclude quite other circumstances—such as Exile and Restoration, with corresponding messages which for the Judah and Jerusalem of Hezekiah would have had no relevance?

Schools of the Prophets.—At the same time, consider that prophecy, though it could not be impersonal, was in some way collective, from its rise in the older

¹ Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscript.*, Eng. Tr., i. 216-70; Sayce, *Monuments*, 427.

² Cornely, *Introd. Spec.*, ii. 339-50; Vigouroux, *M. B.*, ii. 604-12.

³ Vigouroux, *ut supra*, ii. 604; Cornely, *ut supra*, 319.

congregation of the Israelites until it ceased altogether. Companies of prophets, not unlike religious orders, existed in the times of Samuel, Elijah, and Amos,—that is to say, down to the period with which we are dealing (1 Sam. x. 10 ; 1 Kings xx. 35 ; Amos ii. 11, 12). What more intelligible than that the written record should be the product of master and disciples, and be edited on those methods which we term compilation, the existence of which in the books of history cannot be denied ? That some insertions of this character have found their way into Isaiah would surely not be impossible. The condition of its last chapters, lvi.-lxvi., does at least favour this supposition. So does the contrast with Ezekiel, a signed book, homogeneous after the manner of modern writing. Jeremiah, in its double recension and great disorder, proves that the documents were loosely connected, and that the editing was liable to accidents. But in arranging the several collections a principle of affinity would be observed. There are in the two chief portions of Isaiah these resemblances,—between Judah threatened by Assyria and Judah captive under Babylon ; between the promise of an Immanuel or Messianic King, and that of a deliverer like Cyrus ; between Jerusalem the centre that is to be of religious teaching for mankind, and the Servant of Jahweh who bears to all men the tidings of salvation. It does not appear that Christian dogma would lose by giving these distinct but not discordant parts to more than one messenger. It is certain that no change would result in the substance or reasoning of the New Testament as we now possess it. Though a company of Isaiahs were put for an individual, the sublime forecast of chapters ii. and xlv., the Messianic hopes of vii., ix., xi., xxxii., liii., would be fulfilled in Christ and His Church. Prophetic scrolls they are, clearly dated long before the world-events which brought out their significance ; and the world's history shows on how vast a scale their promise has been realised.

Again, therefore, the critical problem would appear to be one of adjustment, as in handling the Pentateuch. We note in the parallels and quotations, which make up so large a part of this literature, as it were an internal canon founded upon community of ideas, little heeding what is elsewhere termed originality, and a true "school of the Prophets". Between 2 Isaiah and Jer., Ezek., Nahum, Zephaniah many such coincidences of thought or language have been observed, and the inference is drawn that they bear testimony to the traditional view in favour of a single teacher, living to a very advanced age. But this can hardly be judged other than reasoning in a circle; we must find out independently which came first, and who was the imitator. The important fact is that unity of spirit by which we are protected from losing the divine judgments that Scripture has been commissioned to unveil. Repetition is their safeguard. We shall never know under what particular circumstances many of them were delivered, and not always by what lips. But was this necessary for their chief import, which is the Messianic?

Summing up.—Until the Church utters her sentence, individual writers would manifestly be exceeding their commission, if they did more than set out the reasons on each side, within the bounds of orthodoxy, for the opinions advanced. That our Book of Isaiah is sacred and canonical we have been taught by conciliar decisions. That it contains the prophecies of the son of Amoz tradition tells us, and critics of every shade maintain. But whether it holds any besides them, and, if so, which are the additions to the original stock, authority has not thus far pronounced.¹

Book of Jeremiah.—Jeremiah comes next in our Western Bibles and the present Massorah. But that was not always the way, if we may trust the Talmudic reference given above. The oldest witness to our ac-

¹ *Vide* on the whole question, Condamin, *Le Livre d'Isaïe*.

tual arrangement is St. Jerome (380 A.D.). How large was the original volume? This question is one of the most intricate in all Scripture. To the Fathers from Origen downwards, Jeremiah included Lamentations and Baruch (or at least the Epistle in B.). Seven instances are noted of allusions to lost passages (2 Chr. xxxv. 25 ; xxxvi. 22 ; 2 Macc. ii. ; Matt. xxvii. 9 ; Eph. v. 14 ; outside the Bible, Justin, *Contr. Tryphon*, 72 ; Lact, 48). According to Graf the book is "not a collection, but rather a larger whole arising out of an originally complete work through addition and expansion". Others prefer to look on it as made up of several, perhaps seven, distinct groups of writings. It is remarkable that the Greek version differs from Massorah not only in arrangement and contents but in being as much as 2,700 words short of the Hebrew. Two recensions are therefore suggested, of which the Greek would represent the earlier. But since we cannot make out in the text at our disposal any definite order of times or topics, the problem raised is perhaps insoluble. "On the whole," says Driver, "the Massoretic text deserves the preference."¹

We learn from Jer. xxxvi. how the prophet in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (604 B.C.) dictated his words to Baruch who wrote them in a roll ; how the roll was burnt by the King ; and how a second was prepared "from the mouth of Jeremiah, and many words added" to the first copy. Spinoza judged that this MS. had been preserved in i.-xx. Extreme critics question if any portion of it is extant, and deny to the prophet not indeed the origination of materials yet existing, but their written authorship. We need not take into account others more fantastic, such as Havet and Vernes, who call the book a pseudepigraph and will not allow that Jeremiah ever lived. But extravagances of this kind warn us how literary dreams may lead astray.²

It is, therefore, not to be doubted that in our canonical

¹ *Introd.*, 254 ; cf. also Cornely, *Introd. Spec.*, ii. 371.

² *E. Bi.*, 2372-81 ; Hastings, *D. B.*, ii. 573-76.

book as now given to us we are reading the messages of this singularly Christian teacher. He was born about 650, began to prophesy in 625, and went on all through the period of reformation inaugurated by Deuteronomy, which was brought to a sad conclusion when Josiah, wounded at Megiddo, returned to die in Jerusalem (608). His mission continued down to the fall of Judah and beyond it. From xlii.-xliv. we learn that he was taken by Johanan the son of Kareah into Egypt, where, as legends relate, he suffered martyrdom. Those critics who break up ancient books according to their fancies, without regard to tradition, Hebrew or Christian, assure us that Jeremiah was not the "prophet of the new covenant" (xxx. 31), neither did he foretell the return of the exiles after seventy years (xxv. 11, 12); he had no share in Lamentations. Such things were ascribed to him, say these commentators, on the faith of oracles which he never pronounced.

But we cannot put aside, on grounds as unsubstantial as they are subjective, testimony which goes back farther than 300 B.C. The "new covenant" is plain enough in Deuteronomy, a discovery of his time, saturated with ideas of which our text is full. Jeremiah has even been picked out as its author. And whether he imitated 2 Isaiah or that work was produced after he had written, the notion of a return from captivity can never have died away among the exiles (xxx. 10, 11, "my servant Jacob"). There is no reason why the preacher who counselled his fellow-citizens to abide in the land rather than go down to Egypt should have debarred himself from hopes of a general restoration (xxxii. 1-15). But the moderns who thus crib and cabin the work of Jeremiah do not hesitate to question the return from exile under Cyrus. In other words, they forsake altogether the canons of testimony when it suits them, and construct historical romances on mere supposition.¹

¹ Especially Schmidt, *E. Bi.*, 2371, 2384.

Without attempting a complete analysis, we remark that i.-xx. stands by itself as a vision of judgment; xxi.-xxxiii. seems to apply its details to the Chaldaean invasion; xxxiv.-xlv. narrates the Prophet's task and sufferings; xlvi.-li. exhibits a series of denunciations addressed to the enemies of Israel. The last section is transferred by the LXX. to xxv. 13, where it fits in more consistently. How ancient is the text of Jeremiah (not counting additions) will appear from this, that in common with Ezekiel it gives the correct name of the great Babylonian King, *viz.*, Nebuchadrezzar; while in 2 Kings, Chron., Daniel, it is wrongly rendered. Repetitions and quotations from earlier books are more frequent than elsewhere in the Old Testament. The style is diffuse, often without colour, and betrays a kind of decadence; but in no teaching under the Law do we perceive a deeper spiritual consciousness. The Book of Jeremiah is in many ways a true *Præparatio Evangelica*.¹

When the existence of stages and redactions in our book is granted, whether we follow the Massorettes or the LXX., it is obvious that we cannot determine in what form a 'prophecy like that against Babylon (l.-li.) was first uttered, nor its date and circumstances. However, we do know that the political system, so to call it, of Jeremiah favoured the Babylonians; and on this account a forecast which exults in their downfall would belong rather to the days when Cyrus was marching to conquer them. Other difficulties are the reference to the Medes and to a long past ruin of Jerusalem. Need we suppose (or can we, indeed?) that the volume was finally sealed up by its author? "Probably the collection was not formed before the close of the Exile."² Has Catholic dogma principles which militate against this view? It would hardly seem so. The great age of Jeremiah,

¹ St. Jerome in Jer. vi., "in the majesty of his meaning most profound".

² See the common view defended in Cornely, *ut supra*, 398, 402; and a moderate suggestion in Driver, 250-52.

perhaps ninety years, if he delivered l.-li., is of course not impossible; but we may surely bear in mind that titles and superscriptions of chapters are as a rule later than their contents and do not *per se* come under the terms of inspiration. "Of Catholic interpreters not a few ancient and modern," says Cornely, "reckon that the last chapter was added by Baruch, or more probably by Esdras, from writings of Jeremiah."¹

Origin and Date of Lamentations.—Lamentations, according to St. Jerome, had in his day the title *Kinoth*, instead of the opening word "Aichah" (Ah, how!), which now describes it in Hebrew. This name is also used in Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 15 a). Josephus appears to have known the "Elegy of Jeremiah on the death of Josiah".² The preface in the LXX. names Jeremiah as the author. Origen, Hilary, Epiphanius join the Prophet's book with Lament. and Epistle. St. Jerome observes the ancient Jewish custom to this effect, but adds that "some inscribe Ruth and Kinoth among the Hagio-grapha". Melito of Sardis follows the use of Palestine and omits the poem from his catalogue, *i.e.*, does not count it separately. In the Greek and Vulgate, as in the versions, it stands immediately after its reputed composer. So natural was the union of both volumes that in the Tridentine decree it is taken for granted, and we read simply "Jeremias with Baruch".

There would seem to be no solid ground for attacking this position. But it has not been left without criticism, literary rather than historical. In Jer. we have remarked a slackness of style which does not strike us in Lamentations. He is the least artificial of writers; would he then set himself to compose as here in acrostics, with elaborate verse-making and a highly conscious art? Many fresh words occur in the elegy; the point of view does not always agree with that which is common in the prophetic volume. The balance of internal evidence

¹ *Ut supra*, 401. ² *Antiquities*, x. 5.

hardly favours Jeremiah. Such are the main reasons alleged, of no great weight in themselves, while the external witness happens to be strong enough for acquiescence in the old opinion. At the same time nothing appears to depend on either alternative, so far as Revelation is concerned.¹ "The points of affinity between Lamentations v. and Job, Psalms, and 2 and 3 Isaiah deserve attention," says a destructive critic who would bring the poem down to 470-450, or even later. But we need not pursue these conjectures. For even this theory allows that when Chronicles were written, "the book was used liturgically by a guild of singers and a portion of it was ascribed to Jeremiah".²

Baruch and Epistle.—Baruch and the Epistle are not extant in Hebrew.³ There is no reason to doubt of their Jewish origin, which is indeed strongly marked. Since, however, they belong to the fragments known as "deutero-canonical" and in their present state are found only in the LXX., we may put off observation upon them until we discuss the special books of that larger catalogue. Meanwhile, these additions to the Prophet have always been cited by the Catholic Fathers as "divine Scripture" and the teaching of the Holy Spirit.⁴

Prophecy of Ezekiel.—Of all writings in the Old Testament scarcely one is less familiar to average Christians than Ezekiel. Among the Jews it was held to be a work so mysterious that, as the story runs, its first twelve chapters (known as "Merkabah" or the Chariot of God) were kept from the eyes of men who had not reached their thirtieth year.⁵ For "modern" critics it has quite another importance,—first, as being one of the few among sacred volumes unmistakably written and signed by its alleged author; second, as furnishing tokens of the movement in ritual and sacred rule out of which came

¹ Cornely, *ut supra*, 402-II. ² Cheyne, *E. Bi.*, 2701-5.

³ St. Jerome, *Comm in Jer. Prolog.* ⁴ Cornely, *ut supra*, 427.

⁵ Orig., *In Cant. Prolog.*; Jerome, *Ad. Paulin.*, Ep. 53.

the Priestly Code. Thus its last section (xl.-xlviii.), long looked upon as hopelessly obscure, is now thought to be the best starting-point for discussions about the Hexateuch. On this view Ezekiel is considered as a profound theologian, whose inspired principles led up to the sacerdotal and Rabbinical Judaism which flourished under the second Temple. When the Talmud informs us that "the men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel," this would be the connection really implied. There was never a Great Synagogue; but Israel did enter upon a strictly theocratical stage after the Return to Jerusalem. The Priestly Codex, it is true, superseded "Ezekiel's Torah"; his description of the new service and sites did not answer to the conditions fulfilled; but he anticipated the form of that later "house of Israel," and the name of that Holy City, "the Lord is there". His religious ideas carry us on from Jeremiah to the New Testament, for they unite a strict system of worship with inward holiness. It has been well said that "he gave definite and almost dogmatic expression to the great religious truths which were the presuppositions of all previous prophecy, combining these into a comprehensive theory of the Divine Providence; and, by giving a peculiar direction to the Messianic hope, he made it a practical ideal in the mind of the nation, and the starting point of a new religious development".¹

Its Divisions and Character.—Ezekiel was one of the captives taken along with Jehoiakin to Babylonia in 597. He was settled in a Hebrew deportation at Tel-Abib, near the canal of Chebar. A priest of high authority, Ezekiel received his call to be a prophet in 592; the latest reference in his book is to 570 (xxix. 17). Three sections are noted: i.-xxiv., the approaching fall of Jerusalem, which took place in 586; xxv.-xxxii., prophecies against foreign nations; xxxiii.-xlviii., Israel's future glory. Various of these messages are dated with

¹ Ezek. xxxix. 21-29; xlviii. 35; Driver, *Introd.*, 277-78; Hastings, *D. B.*, i. 818.

precision; the question how they were fulfilled opens, as Ezekiel himself indicates, another on the scope of conditional prophecy (xiv. 15-23; xxix. 18). The ruin of Jerusalem proved that his forewarnings had come from Jahweh. And in xxxviii.-xxxix. he declares that in a battle of the nations (probably suggested by the great Scythian inroads *temp.* Josiæ) the Lord's name would triumph. This gathering to an Armageddon fight, pictured also in Joel and Zechariah, became henceforth an element in the Apocalypses which, after Judah was led captive, held so notable a place in Jewish literature. Whatever be the immediate purpose of xxxiii.-xlvi., to this kind of vision the prophecy belongs, combining experience and reflection into a new form. Such idealising glances towards the future did not claim to be literally correspondent with after-times; they looked, we may say, to a polity stored up in Heaven. And here, as elsewhere, it is the spirit that quickeneth.

Hence, though Ezekiel often shows a corrupt and embarrassed MS., we need not charge upon his editors wilful tampering. If, with Josephus, we allow two books, or divisions, we may grant a second manipulation of the whole by its author, as moderns would wish. The highly figurative but artificial manner, with its novel expressions and its Aramaisms, the trances and spiritual raptures in which the prophet seems to be present in Jerusalem, and the growing sense of individual responsibility, are all presages of a time very unlike that when Israel had kings ruling over it and prophets were sent to rebuke them. Now, it is the people of Jahweh with whom we are concerned, the holy remnant, soon to be called the "poor" and the "afflicted," whose name in 2 Isaiah prepares us for our Lord's utterance of the Beatitudes and St. Paul's theme of the spiritual Israel. Yet his adoption of imagery from Babylon, which is everywhere visible (remark especially the great scene of Jahweh's enthronement, i. 4-28, and the description of the Prince of Tyre, xxvi.-

xxviii.), connects our prophet with the early parts of Genesis, and he would stand thus like a central figure to the whole Hebrew-Christian scheme. From first to last throughout the Scriptures, Babel and Jerusalem are related, in opposition or reconciliation, much as the Gospel and the Hellenic Renaissance have been in modern Europe.

Ezekiel's Relation to the Hexateuch.—If it were decided that the whole legislation in the Pentateuch is from the hand of Moses, a difficulty would be to explain how any later prophet could have dreamt of remodelling the Torah. On the other hand, compilation-views would permit additions and adaptations to changed circumstances. The position of Ezekiel, we saw long ago, is judged by critics to be an advance on Deuteronomy and a step towards P. C. The crucial evidence is found in Dt. xviii. 1-8, where all the Levites are reckoned as priests, when compared with Ez. xliv. 15, which allows only of Zadokites at the altar. Then our attention is drawn to the so-called Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.), which in language and ideas would appear to be closely connected with our prophet. H. seems to repeat, while it modifies, whatever was laid down by him regarding the priesthood, which there is confined to the sons of Aaron (Lev. xxi. 1). The festal and jubilee ceremonies are in H. more elaborate; in particular, observe the Feasts of first fruits, and of trumpets, and the Day of Atonement. Critics believe, therefore, that Ezekiel traced the outline of H.; but that H. itself comes later, though not by a large interval. And conservative champions would explain the affinities between H. and Ezekiel by reversing the connection, while insisting that no Laws, properly so termed, were enacted in Ez. xl.-xlviii.¹

We should now in the order of the Vulgate consider Daniel, the "last of the four Greater Prophets". But

¹ Critical view, *E. Bi.*, 1458-71, 3880; conservative, Cornely, *ut supra*, ii. 455-59 and i. 136-54. On H. see Driver, *Introd.*, 43, 54, 138.

fully to understand the modern opinions and their grounds, according to which Daniel is rather an apocalypse than a prophecy, it will be more convenient if we observe the Hebrew sequence and treat of the book among the Hagiographa. That it is canonical, whatever be its date and authorship, admits of no question. And, since it is canonical, it must be inspired. Its place in the Massoretic arrangement shows that public recognition came to it long after the list of prophets had been closed. Whether it proves anything more we will examine at the proper time.

The Minor Prophets.—In dealing with our next Hebrew volume, the twelve Minor Prophets, we should be happy to follow the chronological succession. Perhaps that order was intended by the unknown editors; but a severe scrutiny will not allow us to conclude that as the names occur so the periods to which they belong are fixed. Moreover, the Hebrew and Alexandrian sequences do not agree. According to the LXX., Hosea, Amos, Micah, precede the rest,—an order which critical arguments appear to justify; we may assign them respectively to B.C. 746, 740, 700, or the age of Isaiah. By the destruction of Thebes in Egypt we fix a date for Nahum, who refers to that event of 664, and who prophesies the fall of Nineveh in 606. Zephaniah denounced Judæan idolatries, as is thought before Josiah's acceptance of Dt. in 621. Habakkuk, foreboding the advance of the Chaldæans, "that bitter and hasty nation," is set down at 608-598. Obadiah expressed the fierce anger of Judah which Edom, in some crisis of Hebrew story, had provoked; but he has so much in common with an original which Jeremiah likewise followed as to leave us uncertain where he intervenes. The year 586 and the misfortunes which it brought may have roused him to prophesy. An interval of sixty years leads on to the building of the second Temple, to Haggai (520) and Zechariah (518), both at Jerusalem. But while Zechariah is the acknowledged author of his i.-viii., the

time and composition of ix.-xiv. are much disputed. That it is post-exilic (518-458, or even 432-300) seems to be the prevailing opinion; others assign it to the close of the Jewish monarchy (600). Joel, formerly considered very ancient (837-800), is placed between 500 and 460. Whatever be the view taken of Jonah,—history or parable,—its present form is dated in the fifth century B.C. That Malachi (perhaps a name devised from the book itself) was last of the prophets is universally admitted; and no one holds now, as St. Jerome did, that he is identical with Ezra. If we write opposite his final words the year 458, it is that we may bear in mind how prophecy had expired when the period of Scribes and Pharisees opened. Henceforth, law and literature, both under keeping of the priesthood, were to furnish Hebraism with its motive power.¹

Towards a Religion of Humanity.—Of the twelve, Hosea, Amos, and Micah stand out as leaders in the movement towards a universal religion which Isaiah celebrates and exemplifies. There is a true sense in calling them the Christian prophets of O. T. Not only do they denounce idols, they uphold the necessity of a moral reformation, of holiness in the heart; and they speak vehemently in disparagement of those who would trust to rites and fasting while no inward change was sought by them. In these minor prophets the strain is audible which we hear as it swells to a world-harmony in Isaiah and Jeremiah. Prophecy does, indeed, revere the Law, but knows it to be spiritual, not a mere outward or carnal observance. And thus we may say of these high teachers that they were the lights also of Psalmody, which by prayer and meditation appropriated the Law to the individual. These three elements of one Revelation are so diverse that, in impassioned harangue or argument directed to a single end, they may at times fall into antithesis,

¹ Older views in Cornely, *Int. Spec.*, ii. 520-23; recent in Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 280-336.

particularly under the conditions of Hebrew speech. But a work like Deuteronomy will show us how entirely they agree at last, by its borrowing from each in turn. The Law cannot exist without temple and sacrifice; what the Prophet asks is that these earthly signs should be spiritually apprehended; and the "sweet psalmist of Israel" muses on God's dealings in rites and history that he may attain to the New Covenant that shall be written in the heart (Jer. xxxi. 31-33). We perceive, as we follow the growth of Hebraism, that its progress depended on a certain opposition of ideas, to be reconciled when Christ came. He was Law-giver, Priest and Prophet in one, bringing to perfection the promise of which the Old Testament is the record and the instrument.

CHAPTER V.

PSALMS, HEBREW WISDOM, HAGGADAH.

Third Jewish Canon—Ketubim.—In Massoretic lists and Spanish MSS. the Book of Chronicles precedes the Psalms. But in printed Hebrew we find Psalms at the head of “Ketubim,” *i.e.*, the third Jewish Canon. The Vulgate, however, which divides the Old Testament into prose and poetry, begins what we may term its second division with Job. For the criticism on which we are now engaged it seems advisable to take first of all the great Hymn-book, written for praise and meditation, as a prelude to our study of Haggadic literature, using that expression not strictly but in the general sense of “moralising”. Whether psalm, proverb, or story, the portion of Holy Scripture named in the Septuagint Hagiographa displays a certain detachment from the objective style of which Judges, Samuel, and Kings are instances. We feel that prophets and “wise men” have taught Israel to recognise its mission, or have formed its character, so intensely practical on one side, so enthusiastic on the other, by their musings and “forthsayings”. Historically, the kind of poem which we read in the Psalms is ancient. But as it remains and is recited by Jews and Christians at this day, it bears upon its features the colour given to it by a succession of prophets, fixed in the Temple-Liturgy.

Accadian Hymns.—Without speaking of “origins,” at present far beyond our ken, we are aware that hymns of praise (*Tehillim*) or of prayer (*Tephilloth*) go back to periods long before David and even Moses.

The great religious centres of early Babylonian worship were at Nippur and Eridu; the language of their ritual was Accadian. From Eridu probably it was that Babylon took its rise. Then followed the Semitic conquest of those lands from North Arabia, the colonisation of Assyria, the fusion of creeds and deities, the compilation of sacred books. The hymns to the gods, already extant in Sumerian, were translated into Semitic Babylonian, and published in two great books. New hymns were composed, but though written by Semite priests (closely akin to the Hebrews) the language of them was Accadian, an extinct dialect. Of these devout recitations, in which the ideas of sin, repentance, and forgiveness from God are prevalent, many survive, and their likeness to our Psalms is unmistakable. They do, indeed, mingle charms or conjuring with spiritual aspirations; yet there is a tone of fervour, and sometimes more than a trace of confidence, especially when the "culture-hero" Marduk is called upon,—“the pitiful god who raises the dead to life” as though acting the part of a redeemer,—which warn us against the fancy indulged by literary critics, that no Psalms of Israel could much antedate the Exile. On the contrary, we must reckon hymns like these to be exceedingly primitive; since the prayers of Nebuchadrezzar, which are still in existence, while they approach the language of monotheism, follow in their conception outpourings far more antique. The actual words of such old Chaldæan Psalms have been deciphered.¹

Ewald's Division of Psalms.—From the editor's point of view, it is reasonable to suppose that the “five Books” into which our 150 pieces are collected, belong to various times. The natural division, it has been said, is into three—Ps. i.-xli.; xlii.-lxxxix.; xc.-cl. (following the Hebrew). Ewald was of opinion that xlii.-l. once

¹ Sayce, *Social Life, Assyri. Bab.*, 108-23; also *Lect. Babylon, Religion*; Birch, *Records of Past*; McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. and Mon.*, etc.

came after Ps. lxxii., a conjecture now pretty well established. On this arrangement book i. would consist almost wholly of Psalms ascribed to David, i.-xli.; book ii. is a second Davidic anthology, li.-lxxxii.—comprising first, li.-lxxii., almost all “royal”; next, xlii.-xlix., a group of Korahite Psalms; third, l., lxxiii.-lxxxiii., a group of Asaph Psalms; to these lxxxiv.-lxxxix. form a sort of appendix by a different hand. The third collection, liturgical in the main, would be Ps. xc.-cl. This general view appears worthy of acceptance.¹

The Davidic Elements.—That David wrote all the Psalms, though believed by St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and even by Theodore of Mopsuestia, not to speak of others in the Patristic age, does not seem a very early Jewish opinion. In 200 A.D. it was not settled for the Mishnah. Origen, Hilary, Eusebius, Athanasius, Jerome, deny it. Accordingly, the Fathers of Trent enumerate among Books of Holy Scripture not “the Psalms of David” but “Psalterium Davidicum”. “Scarcely any one now holds that view,” says Cornely, a stickler for tradition, but acquainted with all the literature bearing on his subject.² An eminent Oxford scholar, Prof. Margoliouth, still maintains it. Recent critics outside the Church have generally gone to the opposite extreme, and will not allow David to be the author of a single Psalm. The tendency is to bring them down below the Exile, as near the limit set by Ecclus. (130 B.C.) or by translation of LXX. as possible. Books iv.-v. would be late in the Greek period. The first (alleged) Davidic collection might belong to Ezra-Nehemiah; the second to some day of uprising against the Persians long afterwards (persecution of Ochus?). Whether any Psalms are Maccabean is disputed among moderns; and, on the whole, difficulties have been more

¹ Ewald, *Poets O. T.*, i. 249; Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 350.

² *Ut supra*, 99-100, where see references.

or less candidly acknowledged in the supposition.¹ A few Catholic writers hold by it.²

Quotation therefore of "David" by name in the New Testament decides nothing on this point, unless we would maintain that St. Jude's reference to the Book of Enoch obliges us to a belief in the patriarch's writings—which no one affirms (Jude 14). It is likewise uncertain what exactly the Hebrew phrase means which we translate by "a Psalm of David". Does it mean composed by David, or dealing with David, or even "in the collection of David"? And what authority have the inscriptions prefixed to Psalms? The Hebrew gives seventy-three to the royal singer; the LXX. allows him eighty-four; the Vulgate eighty-five. We are ignorant when these titles came into existence and by whom they were added to the text. It is not easy to suppose them original, for they often contravene or do not harmonise with what we read in the Psalms which they have been set to illustrate.³ And the obscurity and confusion so marked in their present condition, argue that no such editorial care has attended on them as would be their due if the Synagogue thought them inspired. Musical directions, the meaning of which is not at all clear, make them up for the most part; these would have come down from the second Temple, scarcely from the days of Solomon, to judge by certain alterations in style and instruments or in the choir itself, according to critics.⁴ St. Thomas of Aquin thought they were added by a later hand. It is plausible to maintain that inscriptions to which the Massorah, LXX. and Vulgate bear witness cannot be rejected. But to look on them, under all the circumstances, as portions of Scripture would be to strain the Tridentine decrees.⁵

¹ *E. Bi.*, 3926-3934, 3937. ² Patrizi, *Cento Salmi*, 235.

³ Driver, *Introd.*, 352, various instances.

⁴ *E. Bi.*, 3934, and on "Music," 3225-41.

⁵ For view upholding inspiration of titles, see Cornely, *ut supra*, 84-89; Vigouroux, *M. B.*, ii. 329.

Yet so ancient and particular a reference of over seventy Psalms to David is not a tradition to be put on one side. Neither can it mean simply "collected by David," nor is the king's name a personification of the "lay" poets who first chanted these hymns. The Synagogue and the nation looked back to the son of Jesse as having founded the Temple-service, taught the singers, and composed for their recitation. He was "pleasant in the psalms of Israel" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1), he had "made instruments of music" for the Levites "to give thanks unto the Lord" (2 Chron. vii. 6), and "Hezekiah the king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praises unto the Lord with the words of David and of Asaph the seer" (2 Chron. xxix. 30). If it be rejoined that the Psalm attributed to him in 2 Sam. xxii., which is our xviii. in Hebrew, has been inserted later, as well as Ps. cv., cvi. in 1 Chron. xvi., this would surely be an argument for the belief in his association with religious poetry, rather than the opposite.

Objections Answered.—The lament over Saul and Jonathan in 2 Sam. i. 19 is there said to have been taken from the Book of Jashar. It is undoubtedly old in form and feeling, worthy of its chivalrous author, and an example of the meditative mood which distinguishes many of the Psalms given to him in our volume. A difficulty has been raised in view of the deep spiritual wisdom which they exhibit, as if the age of David were too little conversant with inward religion for such musings. But why should that be? Very ancient Babylonian hymns teach us that spiritual ideas were not unknown to the Semites in periods far remote. The author now called the Jahwist, who reproduces while cleansing from heathen defilements Accadian-Assyrian world-stories, may be assigned to a lower time than David, but not his materials, and his way of regarding life is pensive and prayerful. Since extreme critics do not deny that "early Israelitish hymns" must "have influenced the form, if not the ideas, of the later

Psalms," and since we are now in presence of documents more primitive by a thousand years than David's kingdom, where lies the necessity of post-dating soliloquies that in some degree can be matched from of old? Hymns do, indeed, lend themselves to a modernising process; nothing more natural than additions to them, second touches, adaptations. But granting all this, if we say of the Korahite and Asaphic Psalms with Robertson Smith, "their contents give no reason to doubt that they really were collected by or for these two guilds," the ascription to David of others would seem quite as probable.¹ Not, of course, that all the pieces now so entitled need be reckoned Davidic in their actual state. The experiences of many men, of different ages, appear to be reflected in them. It will satisfy the evidence which meets us in the Bible text if we leave a large part, however indefinite, of the original Psalter to one who, in setting up at Jerusalem throne and tabernacle, must have contemplated a central sanctuary.² In this opinion there is no unreasonable demand on our faith; whereas to imagine a name thrust into the liturgy, nay, made one of the principal there, which never had any relation to it, would require grounds much more solid than have been alleged.

Great difficulties await us in determining what special Psalms David wrote. Those who assign to him the seventy-three of the Hebrew allow that some verses have been added during the Exile.³ Thus we are led into thickets of conjecture too often without issue. Theodoret reminds us, "What does it matter if some be of this man or some of that man, since it is certain that all were written by inspiration of the Holy Ghost".⁴ Peculiarities are noted which may help us to fix the various periods. St. Augustine, who thought David the sole author, but who could not overlook the minute references to the Exile and Captivity, invokes the pro-

¹ W. R. Smith, *E. Bi.*, 3927.

³ Cornely (Patrizi), *ut supra*, 105.

² 1 Chron. xvi.

⁴ Migne, *P. G.*, 80, 861.

phetic spirit. To which Cornely answers, "It is not a question of what was possible, but of what happened. . . . Without a sure foundation miracles are not to be multiplied," and he appeals to the diversity of style, as a modern critic would.¹ The Psalms which appear to be more ancient are, in general, strikingly bold and individual, often difficult to follow, and rugged or magnificent in language; the newer tend to become simply "songs of praise" and congregational, with many references to accompaniment by musicians. This distinction between the solitary spirit and the Kahal, or assembly, —between the "I" Psalms and the "We" Psalms— cannot be overlooked. It admits, however, of endless degrees. Frequently, too, the speaker puts us in mind of the tragic choregus on the Athenian stage, and represents the whole people (Ps. lxvi.).

Use of Divine Names.—Another problem is the varying use of Divine Names. Before the Exile many proper names are moulded on "Jahweh" (often contracted), which indicates that Israel did not consider it as a forbidden word. In after times it was never spoken, and where it appears in the text Adonai or Elohim was recited. Hence by degrees it passed out of writing also. Now in book i. Jahweh occurs 272 times, Elohim as an absolute fifteen times only; in book ii. J. is found thirty times, E. 164; in book iii. J. occurs thirteen times, E. thirty-six, in Ps. lxxiii.-lxxxiii.; but in lxxxiv.-lxxxix. J. is read thirty-one times, E. only seven; book iv. has J. all through; and so book v. with a few exceptions. An easier way of stating the difference is that in the main Ps. xlii.-lxxxiii. avoid the most sacred name, which is Jahweh. In like manner Chronicles prefers E. to J. and Ecclesiastes never writes J. at all. This would bring down the revision to the Greek period. But how little can we rely upon our fragmentary premisses and the conclusions they suggest!

¹ Cornely, in *Psalmos*, ut *supra*, 101-2.

A singular theory has of late connected many Psalms with Israelite oppression under North Arabian invaders, called "Edom" and "Jerahmeel," from 600 B.C. onwards.¹ This interpretation requires large, not to say hazardous, amendments of the text, and is but one chapter in a criticism of the most revolutionary character applied to the Old Testament throughout. Since we cannot yield to it elsewhere, all we have now to observe may be summed up in the Dantean words, "Look and pass on". Neither Hebrew nor Christian tradition knows anything of such a view. Allusions to Edom are not lacking in the Psalms; but the general substitution of North Arabians for Assyrians or Babylonians can as little be granted by orthodox opinion, as the never-ending confusion between Musri and Mizraim to which this novel doctrine appeals, against the Massoretic text and the LXX., wherever Egypt is concerned.²

The Five "Books of Solomon".—As Hebrew psalmody was attributed to David by the Fathers, in like manner they ascribed to Solomon Hebrew wisdom. His "five books," Prov., Eccles., Song, Wisdom, Eccclus., found regular mention not only in Councils (Hippo, 393; Carthage, 397, at which St. Augustine was present) but in the Decretals of Innocent I. and Gelasius. This nomenclature the Middle Ages adopted. St. Jerome restricts the author, as Hebrews have always done, to three volumes. No Catholic is required to suppose the Greek Book of Wisdom to be the composition, though written in the person, of Solomon. Eccclus. distinctly states its own origin from Jesus Ben Sira. Omitting these deuterocanonical works, we find no serious controversy implicating dogma, which would affect the authorship of Proverbs. The opening verse, which is editorial, announces, "The proverbs of Solomon, the son

¹ For this name Jerahmeel see 1 Sam. xxvii. 10; 1 Chron. ii. 25-33. For the application of it, Cheyne, *E. Bi.*, 3943-3957.

² For metrical structure of Psalms, Lowth, *De Poesi Hebr.*; Zenner in *Zeitsch. f. K. Theologie*, Innsbruck.

of David, King of Israel". Yet the son of David did not collect them all; for (1) in xxv. 1 we read, "These also are proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah, King of Judah, copied out," and (2) in xxx. and xxxi. we are confronted with "the words of Agur" and those of "Lemuel, King of Massa". Hence, for orthodox critics, no argument decisive of authorship can be gained from a Scripture heading thus presented. It need not be commensurate with the whole volume which it introduces. Additions by later scribes are not impossible. And an entire book (Wisdom) may, without fraud or imposture, be published in the character of one who did not actually compose it.¹

The Book of Proverbs.—In Proverbs (*Mishlei-She-lomoh*) we reckon eight parts, mostly with introductions or titles—i.-ix., the Praise of Wisdom; x.-xxii. 16, proverbial sayings in a strictly poetical form ascribed to Solomon; xxii. 17-xxiv. 22, "words of the wise"; xxv.-xxix., a second Agur collection by Hezekiah from Solomon; xxx., the Agur-section; xxxi. 1-9, the Lemuel section; xxxi. 10-31, the description of a virtuous woman, in acrostic verses. The arrangement was evidently gradual; its date is uncertain. Affinities with Deuteronomy and the Prophets may surely be allowed. If we mention 600 B.C. as a memorial number we lay no stress upon it.

Some Talmudic worthies appear to have doubted the inspiration of Proverbs. Theodore of Mopsuestia denied to it the grace of prophecy and called its teaching merely prudential, for which he was condemned in the Fifth General Council, the Second of Constantinople. Spinoza renewed his opinion, and Le Clerc also in strong terms.² But as the Church does not identify inspiration with revelation, this argument, even if it were valid, proves nothing against the canonical dignity of any Scripture. And Spinoza himself held that "prophecy

¹ Cornely, *Introd. Gen.*, 124; *Introd. Spec.*, 141, 223-25.

² *Tract. Theol.-Polit.*, ii. 32; Le Clerc, *Lettres sur le V. T.*, 12.

never added to the learning of the Prophets but left them in their preconceived opinions". The ancient "wise men" took for granted the religion of Israel, but, while they acknowledged all virtues to be God's gift (Prov. viii.), they endeavoured to establish the Moral Law upon good sense and experience. Those who have guided themselves by the spirit of this wisdom know it to be profitable for character as for life. That men are rewarded here below according to their works is its leading principle and represents one view of the Divine Government.¹

Ecclesiastes or Koheleth.—The "king in Jerusalem" may have collected more sayings than he wrote. But, supposing that in Proverbs we make acquaintance with Solomon's mind and manner of speech,—the Hebrew shows a concentrated strength, energy and shrewdness which adorn its golden period,—how shall we judge concerning Ecclesiastes? In style and scope the "Preacher" has been matter of discussion from an early date. Its very title is not plain. We translate "Koheleth"—reading the letters thus—with St. Jerome as "Concionator," or in the Revised Version, "the great orator". He is meant, beyond question, for Solomon. And our difficulties begin at once. Grotius was the first to raise the problem of authorship. No modern critic of distinction outside the Church seems to grant that Solomon could have written Ecclesiastes. Many Catholic writers look upon it as being in the same case with Wisdom—a soliloquy or parable the origin of which is not known. Antiquity was exercised about the ethical drift (apparently Epicurean) or the "false view of life" which many found in Koheleth, and which led to disputes before it was fully allowed by the Palestinian Jews. In the New Testament the book is not mentioned.

Literary questions have arisen only in late times. But they are formidable. In point of language Eccles.

¹ Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 369-74.

belongs to the post-exilic Hebrew. It resembles the large work Ezra - Chronicles, the fragments of Ben Sira, and the Mishnah. Its words and idioms have a kinship with Aramaic; the syntax is decadent; the construction by no means classical. How reconcile these peculiarities with an age like Solomon's? The difficulty is so great that some have imagined the royal preacher as adopting a "popular" dialect by way of coming down to the level of his audience.¹ This far-fetched expedient proves, at any rate, that the style of Koheleth is almost unique and is certainly not ancient.

If, however, you admit an adapted Solomon to explain the language, why not a figurative one to get rid of the incongruities in thought and sentiment which have been pointed out? For the author, "if he were a prosperous king, would hardly speak as he does of government, with its corruption and injustice"; nor could he despair of the nation, or write habitually in the subject's, not the monarch's vein. He describes a "period of political servitude, destitute of patriotism or enthusiasm". Hence, the Preacher must have lived when the Jews had lost their independence and Judah was a province of the Persian or the Greek empire. His place in the Hebrew Canon, after Lamentations, testifies to the late recognition, even thus not secure, which he met with from the Synagogue. And the Targum, in its comments, dwells much on a future life and judgment to come. As St. Augustine observes, "the whole book is intended for nothing else than that we should yearn after the life which has no vanity under the sun".² Whether you choose a date from Persian times before Alexander (350) or under the Seleucids (300-200), no one doubts that the language is quite foreign to Hebrew at its best. In any view, the figurative ascription to Israel's wisest king is not a "pious fraud" but a literary

¹ Cornely, *Introd. Spec.*, ii. 173, maintains this hypothesis.

² *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 3.

form. As regards the ethical difficulties, we will touch on them in another section.¹

The Song of Songs.—Canticles, or the Song of Songs (*i.e.* the most excellent of poems), has afforded to critics and commentators a field for inexhaustible theorising. Its position among the Ketubim suggests either a late period or difficulties in admitting it to the Canon. These were undoubtedly raised, as we learn from the high-flown judgment in its favour of Rabbi Akiba. Jewish tradition, represented by the Targum and Midrash Rabbah, denied that it was a secular poem, and construed allegorically the relations of Solomon and the Bride as the love of Jahweh towards Israel. This interpretation, accepted by Origen, but applied to Christ and the Church (or the individual soul), became universal in the Middle Ages, and we owe to it St. Bernard's eighty-six sermons on the Canticles. St. Jerome writes to Læta (Ep. 107), "let her read the Canticles last of all, for fear that if she read them first, not understanding the spiritual sense, she should take harm". Theodore of Mopsuestia interpreted the Song literally, "and then," says Newman, "it was but an easy or rather a necessary step to exclude the book from the Canon".² But orthodox writers upheld the mystical view, with or without a background of history; and Bossuet hinted that the Song was adapted for use on the seven days of the marriage festival. Unless a moral or prophetic meaning could be assigned to the work, it was evidently not entitled to a place among sacred writings.

Views of Ewald and Moderns.—The ethical interest and the unity of Canticles were discovered by Ewald (1826) in reading it as a drama with three principal actors, Abishag the Shulammite (1 Kings i. 3; ii. 21), her rustic betrothed, and Solomon his kingly rival.

¹ Highly conservative opinions in Cornely, *ut supra*, 166-83. Modern views, Spinoza, *ut supra*, 165; E. Bi., 1155-1163; Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 441-49. For text, Ginsburg, and especially Bickell, *Der Prediger*. Extreme views in Grätz, Renan, Cheyne.

² *Development*, 285.

This dramatic idea found many advocates and is prevalent outside the Church ; but serious objections remain, especially that Semites have no turn for real drama. Hence the festal interpretation connected with Lowth and Bossuet is at present winning suffrages. No particular story would in this case underlie the seven parts, each containing what is termed in Arabic a *wasf* or "praise of beauty"; names like the Shulammitte and Solomon would be merely symbols ; and the whole an epithalamium (to use Origen's word) such as peasants chant still in the Lebanon. Since it celebrates true affection and pure wedded love, there is no reason why such a poem should not be inspired and susceptible of a religious application, like other parables taken from life. Its details would be the vehicle of diviner meanings, and not literal because intended as a prophetic allegory. In this verdict Church and Synagogue would have agreed from the beginning.

To those learned men, such as Gesenius, who considered the Song as written in a late Hebrew,—various examples are quoted,—the Salomonic authorship seemed incredible. But others, equally learned (Sayce in particular), do not perceive the lateness ; they affirm that language and allusions would suit very well with Solomon. Cheyne thinks "we can now show that this anthology of songs is post-exilic," perhaps belonging to "the early and fortunate reigns of the Ptolemies". Internal difficulties are left if we hold to Solomon's association as an author, in any period of his reign, with a mystical or dramatic poem in which his part is either not congruous or far from enviable. The true and tender conception of marriage between one man and one maiden here set forth can hardly, it is said, be attributed to a polygamous king. In the New Testament no mention occurs of Canticles.¹

¹ Cornely, *Introd. Spec.*, ii. 184-99. Ewald's view in Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 413-18 ; well given in Hamburger, *Real-Encyc. des Judenthums*, 717 ; and Hastings, *D. B.*, iv. 591-97 ; text in Bickell, *Poems O. T. Metrically Rendered* ; and in Ginsburg. See *E. Bi.*, 681-95.

Poem or Parable of Job?—Job, which on any supposition, whether history or parable, is a religious poem unsurpassed in literature, has no author's name and no date. Its place in the Canon varies. In the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 15 a) R. Samuel bar Nachman opines that "Job never existed"; most of the Rabbis took an opposite view, which is followed by St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Catholics generally. Innocent I. and Gelasius appear to reckon the book among histories. Yet all orthodox writers grant that in treatment as in style Job is a "poetic amplification," and that the prologue in Heaven cannot be taken to the letter, though much disagreement is found among commentators when they attempt to explain it. Symbolic visions are, of course, frequent in Scripture. St. Thomas lays down a principle which may be applied elsewhere, "the word was not given by a sound from without but inspired from within".¹ Short parables in Holy Writ not being real narratives, it is asked why long ones should have a better claim to be so considered. But the existence of Job is argued from Ezekiel xiv. 14; Ecclus. xlix. 9, Hebrew text; Tobit ii. 12, 15; James v. 11. His name, "a legacy from antiquity," has been traced to North Palestine and Babylon as well as the Hauran. "It would be advisable," says Loisy, "to admit that the historical truth of Job is not absolutely guaranteed by tradition."²

It is now commonly admitted that the speeches of Elihu (xxxii.-xxxvii.) are an addition, not by the original author. Insertions at various other places in Job's own argument have been noted, which make the reading difficult; chapters xxvii. 7-23 and xxviii. are full of perplexities to students. Elihu finds no mention in Prologue or Epilogue, and his discourses have a marked style, more flowing and roundabout than the rest of the poem. His doctrine, also, proceeds from a

¹ *Quæst. Disput. de Prophetia*, xii.

² Cornely, ii. 61, 66; Cheyne in *E. Bi.*, 2464; Loisy, *Job*, 49.

different point of view. If we call the principal writer a poet, we may term the creator of Elihu a moralist—both certainly inspired.¹

Narratives and Colloquies.—There are three cycles of colloquies; then comes the Elihu section; lastly, the speeches of Jahweh (xxxviii.-xlii. 6). Efforts have been made to show that the prose-narratives are by a writer for whose “colloquies” our present (much more sublime) text was substituted; but we feel no temptation to commit ourselves on these speculative flights. That the text of Job is greatly in need of critical help cannot be doubted. Perhaps it has an Edomite colouring, which would account for many variations. Ascribed in Hebrew tradition to Moses, but vague alike in its chronology and geography, the volume has been brought down to the age of Solomon or Hezekiah, even as low as 500 B.C. Against any post-exilic reference the parallel to Job in Jeremiah xx. 14-18, considered to be an imitation, is alleged. Nothing hinders us from holding that the poet was contemporary with Amos, except certain approximations to 2 Isaiah (Job vii. 1; ix. 8; xii. 17; xv. 35). But 760 B.C. is a very high date. Elihu would perhaps belong to the Persian era.² In Job altogether, “the thoughts expressed are thoroughly Hebraic, and the entire work is manifestly a genuine product of the religion of Israel”.³

Ruth Again.—In Massoretic Bibles the Song of Songs follows Job, and is itself followed by Ruth, which however stands first of the Hagiographa in Spanish MSS., and deserves to be held up as a perfect example of the *Haggadah*, or moralising narrative, among Israelites. It is thus contrasted with the *Halachah*, which, as meaning the path (“This is the way, walk ye in it”),

¹ Loisy, *Job*, 28-36. ² Loisy, 41-43.

³ Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 408. Text especially handled by Bickell, *Carmina V. T.*, and transl. from the Greek version of Job, Eng. by Dillon. See also Delitzsch, *Int. to Job*, sec. 10. For older views, Cornely, ii. 47-60. For French transl., Loisy, *ut supra*.

simply laid down the law of duty. When was the idyl composed? Linguistic peculiarities, Aramaisms, and even the antiquarian tone, have led moderns, Ewald, etc., to give it an exilic origin. The LXX. make it an appendix to Judges, but we do not observe the same notes of "ancient rust" which cling to that fierce and powerful volume. Ruth exhibits the domestic tenderness and attachment to family life which are marked features in Jewish writings after the Exile. But, even if late in point of composition, the basis of the narrative may well be historical. Nor is the literary argument all on one side, for Ruth in choice of words and freshness of painting takes us back to a noble sort of Hebrew. We cannot, then, pronounce definitely one way or the other. That David was connected with Moab, as the pedigree at the end makes out, seems to be indicated 1 Sam. xxii. 3. No trace of Deuteronomic influence in the story compels us to bring it below 621 B.C. If a view be imperative, we might suppose an earlier tale revised, in which case old and new linguistic forms would meet together.¹

On Lamentations we have spoken in the sequel to Jeremiah.

The Story of Esther.—The Book of Esther comes after Koheleth among the "Festal Rolls," and is eminently adapted to its purpose of being read on the days of Purim, a celebration which it explains from Persian history. The protocanonical (Hebrew) chapters, i.-x. 3, do not mention the name of God or make reference to prayer; the deuterocanonical (Greek only), x. 4 - xvi. 24, add visions and supplications which strongly remind us of Daniel, Judith, and Tobit. Critics are unanimous in identifying Ahasuerus with Xerxes, and the period represented is later than the expedition against the Greeks. We know nothing of the author whose date may be 300-290 B.C. Grave objections to

¹ Gigot, *Spec. Introd.*, 242-49; Vigouroux, *M. B.*, ii. no. 461; Keil, König, Driver, *in loco*; *E. Bi.*, 4166-69.

the historical accuracy of Esther have been drawn from the names, customs, language, and course of the events. Esther is clearly Istar, Mordecai is Marduka, "devoted to Marduk"; how came pious Israelites to bear the designation of a Babylonian god and goddess? Other instances do, indeed, occur on contract tablets.¹ The Persian usages also create a difficulty, for the king could take a wife only from seven families (according to Herodotus, iii. 84), and it is impossible to believe that Amestris, the consort of Xerxes at the date alleged, was the same as Esther. Improbabilities, it is said, hang round the design of Haman not less than the counterplot by which it was defeated. Would Ahasuerus have deliberately arranged for a civil war among his subjects? There is, besides, the curious variant on this whole story in Tobit xiv. 10, where Mordecai disappears and his place is taken by Achiacharus the cup-bearer of Esarhaddon, while "Aman went down into darkness" (in LXX., not in Jerome's Vulgate). From all this many critics conclude that Esther is a romance. Comparison is made with legends reported by Ktesias which in character it resembles; and his "parchment archives" remind us of the "chronicles" and "records" of the "Kings of Media and Persia" to which our book refers more than once. Moderate writers, Oettli, Driver, etc., are disposed to grant a foundation in fact, embellished by the storyteller's fancy, *i.e.* Haggadic Jewish treatment, to the glory of Israel and its Divine Protector. The deuterocanonical Esther would then have expressed in plain terms what the Hebrew fragment implied, as Tobit and Judith are careful to bring out the lesson.²

Free Handling in Hagiographa.—Job, according to Catholic doctrine, is at once parable and history in a poetical form. Why, then, it has been argued, should

¹ Pinches, *Records of Past*, N.S., iv. 104.

² Sayce on Esther in *Higher Crit. and Mon.*, 469-75; Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 452-57; Jensen's theories, *E. Bi.*, 1404.

not other books of Scripture contain history dealt with similarly under the form of prose? The conditions appear to be fulfilled in narratives of this description. "Hagiographa," thus moulded, would occupy a middle place between epic recitations and the arrangement of Chronicles. Herodotus, for instance, often writes as a "logographer," intent on pictorial effect more than literal truth. Such "free narrative" will include a core of history, but enjoys large room in details. Writers and readers would know equally well that Haggadah never pledges itself to the exactitude which moderns cultivate as scientific. Thus Father Prat, S.J., "Are the Books of Ruth, Judith, Esther, Tobias, in their design strictly historical? These questions, so frequently discussed, will in all probability never be decided. But we are not bound to hold the stricter view. The books will always make for edification and moral teaching; for this purpose they were written and inspired. Hence it follows that we need not look in them for the bare historical fact, which lay beyond the scope of the authors."¹

The Problem of Daniel.—Problems of pseudography and free narration reach their culminating point in the Hebrew and Aramaic Daniel with its Greek appendages. Chapters i.-vi. are almost purely historical; vii.-xii. are prophetic; the Greek fragments are history again, and their originals, translated in the LXX. or by Theodotion, have perished. Many moderns, after Ewald, divide the Massoretic volume into ten pieces. The text of the LXX. is abbreviated and corrupt; accordingly St. Jerome, following the ancient Catholic use, adopted in his Vulgate Theodotion's edition. References to Daniel by name occur in Ezek. xiv. 14; xxviii. 3; 1 Macc. ii. 59 or 60; Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14; other allusions to his prophecies in Matt. xxvi. 64;

¹ V. Hummelauer, *Exeg. Inspir.*, 36-39; Vigouroux, in *Revue Biblique* (1899), 50; Lagrange, *Hist. Crit.*, Eng. Tr., 202, on "legendary history"; *Jewish Encycl.* on Judith.

Mark xiv. 62 ; 2 Thess. ii. ; Heb. xi. 33 ; and in the Apocalypse throughout. Josephus (*Antiq.*, xi. 8) asserts that the book of Daniel's prophecies was exhibited to Alexander the Great on his entrance to Jerusalem by the High Priest Jaddua. But no other historian is aware of Alexander's visit to the Holy City, though on his march into Egypt (332) he received the voluntary submission of the Jews, and may have been shown their sacred books. There can be no reasonable doubt that New Testament writers, like their brethren of the Synagogue, held Daniel for a prophet and the author of the volume in which (viii. i., etc.) he speaks by name.

From Porphyry Onwards.—The Fathers took over this opinion, as they did other Jewish traditions concerning the Biblical authors. But, says St. Jerome, "Against the Prophecy of Daniel Porphyry wrote twelve books, and would not allow it to be written by him whose name it bears, but by one who lived in Judæa under Antiochus Epiphanes (the IVth), and he affirmed that Daniel did not predict the future but narrate the past".¹ Replies to the heathen critic, no longer extant, were published by Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris of Laodicæa, and St. Jerome himself. The controversy was re-opened by Spinoza, Collins, Bentley, and the German Rationalists who followed Semler. It is now held almost universally outside the Church that "the exilic Daniel was simply employed as a literary device by a writer of much later date, who regarded the fury of Antiochus Epiphanes as the last visitation of the people of God before the blessed time of the end should come".² Internal evidence, we are told, shows with a cogency which cannot be resisted that the book must have been written not earlier than about 300 B.C. and in Palestine ; probably in B.C. 168 or 167.³

Reasons given are such as these :—

Its late position in the Canon, not among the

¹ Jerome, *In Dan.*, præf. ² *E. Bi.*, 1008.

³ Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 467.

Prophets; omission of Daniel's name in Ben Sira's eulogy of Hebrew worthies (xliv.-l.), though he comes down to Ezekiel and the Minor Twelve; allegation that Nebuchadrezzar (whose name is wrongly spelt, not as in contemporary Jerem. and Ezekiel) besieged Jerusalem in third year of Jehoiakim, which does not agree with Book of Kings and Jeremiah; use of the term "Chaldæans" for Babylonians, unknown to cuneiform literature, and a late Greek manner which identified "Chaldæans" with soothsayers and magicians; the statement that Belshazzar was "King of Babylon" and "son of Nebuchadnezzar," which cannot be reconciled with history; and the reign of "Darius the Mede," son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes), for whom there is no place in the Elamite-Persian series.

Difficulties of the Language.—Thus far the objections of critics from Porphyry down to quite recent times, not taking into account the language of Daniel. But this, too, furnishes arguments. It is evident that the writer supposed Aramaic to be the court-dialect in Babylon, whereas it was only the speech of commerce throughout Western Asia, and the Babylonians never gave up their native idiom, as why indeed should they? To fine critics the Hebrew of Daniel seems bookish like University Latin, *i.e.*, imitated from dead authors, which would imply lateness. It has features in common with Esther, Chron., Eccles., betraying an age subsequent to Nehemiah. The Aramaic used, a Western or Palestinian dialect, has no connection with Babylon of 580 B.C. The number of Persian words mingled with it are not only remarkable, but apparently decisive against the notion that before Cyrus conquered them a people to whom the Persians were utterly foreign should have borrowed such words to describe their own institutions. Cuneiform texts prove that they did not do so. But Greek words occur, names of musical instruments (*kitharos*, *psanterin*, *sumponyah*), two of which seem very modern and are not found earlier than 400 B.C.

Replies by Conservative School.—Confirmation, however, was brought by conservative champions in aid of Daniel's history from the Greeks who had described the taking of Babylon by Cyrus (Herodotus, i. 188-92; Xenophon, *Cyropæd.*, vii. 5). As a picture Daniel's fifth chapter agreed strikingly with the historian and the romance-writer; though it was not easy to perceive in Labynetus the name of Belshazzar, and Cyaxares in Xenophon (*Cyrop.*, i. 4) did not rightly answer to Darius the Mede.

Cyrus in Babylon.—But an astonishing series of discoveries have now altered the whole position. Babylonian records, from year to year and month to month, assure us that the story told in our Greek volumes has no foundation in fact. Cyrus entered Babylon without violence; the king whom he deposed but did not slay was Nabonidus, curiously transformed in the Herodotean narrative to Labynetus. His son was Belshazzar, who never enjoyed the royal dignity and whose end is unknown; but he is not likely to have perished under the sword of Cyrus. That king himself, Lord of Anzan, conqueror of Persia, not (it would appear) allied to the Medes but to the Manda, received his new dominions from the hands of Bel-Merodach, and instead of being a monotheist was a worshipper of many gods. His peaceable entrance into the Great City followed upon a religious uprising against Nabonidus. And as he began to reign immediately (witness the contract tablets dated under him), no interval is left for a possible Darius.

Whence, then, the Greek legend? It is due to historical perspective, which confounded the events of 538 B.C. with events of a later period. How little Xenophon knew of Assyrian story is clear from the wild inventions concerning Larissa and Mespila (Nineveh) which we meet in the *Anabasis* (bk. 3, c. iv., 7, 11). And Herodotus cannot be followed. The siege and conquest of Babylon, attributed to Cyrus, are a reflection of more

recent captures by Darius Hystaspes in 521 and 515, both achieved against rebels who took the style of Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidus. A third revolt brought down Xerxes on the ancient capital, soon after his return from the Greek expedition, when he destroyed not only the fortification but the temple of Bel-Merodach, as we learn from Arrian. These are the incidents, it is urged, that Daniel has thrown back to the days of Cyrus, bestowing on a figurative Darius the name and qualities of the son of Hystaspes, and making him the son of Xerxes who came long after. The confusion of Persians with Medes is peculiarly Greek.¹

“The Maccabean Horizon.”—So much for difficulties into which no religious considerations enter. But it has been felt that for a prophet of 580-540 to give his message a “Maccabean horizon,” clear in minute detail up to a certain point, while unconnected with any circumstances of his own time, is not according to the analogy of Scripture. Those who allow no divine revelation of things to come, have set down the book with Porphyry as a “vaticinium post eventum”. However, the objection here indicated is founded on characteristics of Holy Writ and claims to be judged from that outlook. As Catholic writers in general use a similar proof against the old notion (patronised by St. Augustine) that David composed the Psalms of Exile, there is nothing heterodox in the principle of limitation. That Antiochus IV. (176-164) is the subject of Daniel’s prophecies in vii.-xii. becomes clear from a comparison of his reign with what they tell us; but, even so, they include future events and an eschatology. The “daily sacrifice” was suspended in 168; the Temple purified and sacrifice restored three years and a half later; hence the date of the writing is fixed to this period. Now Daniel in 536 had no connection with events which were to happen

¹ Sayce, *Higher Crit. and Mon.*, 496-537.

nearly four centuries afterwards, and it is alleged that an account of them so definite and therefore so enigmatical to his contemporaries, is without example in Scripture; neither would it have brought religious comfort to the exiles when the second Temple was not even built.¹

Daniel the First Apocalypse.—To sum up the modern contention: Daniel stands at the head of apocalyptic Jewish literature, and was perhaps its first chief specimen. Antecedents it had in Zechariah, to some extent in Ezekiel. But the great age of these mysterious figured writings, with their angelology and Messianic hopes, begins in the second century B.C. Other examples are the Book of Enoch (oldest parts about 120 B.C.), the Assumption of Moses (90 B.C.), 2 or 4 Esdras (first century A.D.). To a different but cognate branch the third and fifth books of the Sibylline Oracles belong (perhaps 140 B.C.). The Book of Jubilees cannot well be described as an apocalypse. Many other such works are known, Jewish or Christian, down to the *Shepherd* of Hermas. In general, they are ascribed to famous men of old; but there is no reason why we should condemn a literary artifice so common that it implied little more than the dedication of a theological treatise to a saint. The aim of Daniel was fulfilled by showing under an illustrious prophet's name, and in free but suggestive foreshortening of ancient history, the victory which Israel might anticipate over its heathen oppressor, Antiochus. For such a purpose, *viz.* edification, it was enough to assume the history which Herodotus or Xenophon had made popular. Yet the Maccabean writer may have known of some particulars derived from the period which he represents, and have even employed a previous groundwork in his opening chapters. "It by no means follows," says Driver, "from this view of the book, that the narrative is throughout a pure

¹ Analysis and parallels in Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 461-67. Also his *Bk. of Dan.*, Cambr. Bible; opposite view, Cornely, ii. 489-90.

work of the imagination. That is not probable. Delitzsch, Meinhold, and others insist rightly that the book rests on a traditional basis. Daniel, it cannot be doubted, was a historical person, one of the exiles in Babylon, who, with his three companions, was noted for his staunch adherence to the principles of his religion, who attained a position of influence at court, interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, and foretold as a seer something of the future fate of the Chaldean (Kasdim) and Persian empires." But he concludes, "whatever elements of fact may be contained in the book, they are mingled, it seems more and more clear, with much that is unhistorical".¹

Midrashim of O. T.—If the Book of Daniel stood alone as inspired Haggadah, it would be perplexing. But, evidently, the same questions confront us and ask for the same treatment not only in Job and Esther, but in Tobit, Judith, and, so far as the strict historical character is under consideration, in 2 Maccabees. The most obvious way out of difficulties otherwise urgent is to regard such works as Midrashim, where we do not find history set down for its own sake but edifying narratives founded, as we say, on fact. We should then distinguish between the "core," traditional basis, and the "husk," *i.e.*, free handling. How much is kernel and how much envelope, in the given case, we may not be able to decide; nor is it required. The Fathers did not bestow great attention on these semi-poetical books; and St. Jerome, as is well known, took little pains in translating Tobit and Judith, which he reckoned among the Apocrypha, outside the Canon.²

¹ Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 479; E. Bi. and Hastings, *D. B.*, on this subject; among Catholics see Cardinal Meignan, *Prophètes depuis Daniel, sub voce*; and *Vie de C. Meignan* by Boissonnot, 467; also Vigouroux, *Bible et Découvertes Mod.*, iv. 377 seq.; Turmel in *Annales phil. Chrét.*, Oct., 1902; Lagrange, *Hist. Crit.*, Eng. Tr., 94, 95. For Apocalyptic Literature, E. Bi. and *Jewish Encycl.* under title.

² Jerome, *Prol. Galeat.*, calls J. apocryphal; *Pref. in Tobit* shows his "free" translation of such works, and so *Prol. in Judith*, which seems to grant that book canonical rank from the Nicene Council.

To this latter question (of words rather than things) we shall return. Suffice it now to have indicated the two schools among orthodox writers, of which the more recent grounds itself upon undoubted examples of pseudepigraphy (Wisdom of Solomon, "orphan" Psalms ascribed without warrant to David) and on the varying degrees of historical representation admitted in Scripture.

Chronicles as a Great Instance.—We arrive at Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, one volume in three parts, of which the first, comprising two books, is called in LXX. and the Vulgate Paralipomenon. This very late composition (about 430 B.C.) has well been termed an "ecclesiastical history," corresponding in principle to the Priestly Code. Like that revision of the Law, it includes many ancient particulars; and it is remarkable for its distinct appeal to documents of a public nature. The Chronicler, who is quite anonymous, would seem to have compiled the whole. What is called 1 Esdras was found in the LXX. and known to Josephus; it connects Chronicles with Nehemiah verbally. However, the Massoretic recension is different. St. Jerome translated Theodotion's text, substituting in the Vulgate his new Latin for the old 1 Esdras; and to his arrangement we keep. The Chronicler made use of an Aramaic original, contemporaneous with the Return from Exile and of very high value.

Probable Order in Ezra-Nehem.—A recent critic, Hoonacker, has plausibly restated the series of events and the text concerning them as follows:—

- (1) Ez. i.-iv. 5; iv. 24 - vi.: The first return.
- (2) Ez. iv. 6-23: Artaxerxes I. forbids rebuilding of walls of Jerusalem.
- (3) Book of Nehemiah: Ezra becomes secondary; Eliashib is High Priest.
- (4) Ez. vii.-ix.: Artaxerxes II. reigning, and Jochanan High Priest.

Another problem, on which various dates depend, is

whether we should identify Sheshbazzar, "Prince of Judah," who led back the exiles in first year of Cyrus (Ez. v. 2-5, 14-16), with Zerubbabel, who was the contemporary of Jeshua, High Priest, and of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. The matter is entangled by statements in Ezra iv., which seem to transfer this group from the age of Darius Hystaspes (520 B.C.) to that of Darius Nothus, a century later (422 B.C.). It is now held that Zerubbabel was not living under Cyrus; and that he belongs to the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Once more the historical perspective of an obscure period has been shortened by the inspired penman. The mission of Nehemiah goes back to 445; the last period of Ezra would begin 398, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II.¹

Post-Exilic History and P.C.—Chronicles are written from the post-exilic point of view. Though upwards of forty sections furnish parallels to the great sacred history of Genesis-Kings, the work is a religious epitome, and omits not only the period of the Judges, but the vicissitudes of Northern Israel after it fell away from Rehoboam. The compiler intended chiefly to relate the development of public worship, and the attitude of successive kings towards the Mosaic ideals. His quotations from earlier documents are governed by the like principles, and so too his introduction of the Prophets. The prologue (mostly catalogues of names) occupies 1 Chron. i.-ix.; the history extends throughout both books into Ezra-Nehemiah. As many as sixteen sources of information are mentioned; but whether, and in what shape, our present Book of Kings was consulted by the Chronicler is disputed. In any case revision of the text from a much later standpoint can hardly be denied. Special difficulties attach to the chronological scheme and the statistics of Chronicles

¹ Hoonacker, in *Revue Biblique*, Jan., Apr., 1901; Sayce, *Higher Crit. and Mon.*, 539-48. For 1 (iii) Esdr. see Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 553; Loisy, *Canon O. T.*, 18-22.

which remain when errors of transcription have been taken into account. "It does not seem possible," says Driver, "to treat the additional matter as strictly and literally historical." On the other hand, neither should we charge the compiler with a "deliberate perversion of history". For "he and his contemporaries did not question that the past was actually as they pictured it". Does inspiration require an adequate presentation of such facts? or will not the popular tradition, true in its own character, be sufficient on which to ground a book mainly intended for spiritual teaching? The author would simply, therefore, have us to understand that this was the view taken of Israel's religious development by himself and his people in the third century B.C.¹

Here ends the Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament.

¹ Driver, *Introd. Lit. O. T.*, 498, 501; Brown, on Chron. in Hastings, *D. B.*; Gigot, *Gen. Introd.*, 556; *E. Bi.*, *ad vocem*. Consult for their bearing on the materials and historical methods of Chronicles the answers of Biblical Commission as regards the Pentateuch, *supra*, p. 61. The discovery of Aramaic (Chaldee) papyri dated 408-7 B.C. at Assuan, illustrating the Temple-ritual, has now enabled scholars to carry back the composition of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah to the fifth century, and the institutions of P. C. to an indefinitely earlier time. *Vid.* Jer. xliii.

CHAPTER VI.

BOOKS OF THE SECOND CANON.

The Antilegomena O. T.—Seven volumes—Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees, with fragments of Esther and Daniel—are admitted into the Latin Vulgate, which were never any portion of the Hebrew Bible. It may, however, be said that they tended to become a Fourth Jewish Canon, as is clear from the New Testament references, and their early entrance among books of the LXX. We propose to describe them in as few words as possible, before summing up their history in the Christian ages.

Greek Book of Wisdom.—The Wisdom of Solomon is Greek in language and ideas. It had no Hebrew original; its author is unknown. St. Jerome refers to ancient writers who made Philo of Alexandria responsible for it,—an opinion universally rejected. Bonfrère, S.J., Cornelius a Lapide, and others, who did not welcome the notion of pseudepigraphy in Scripture, have endeavoured to trace in Wisdom vestiges of Solomon's writing; but of such an hypothesis there is no need. The Muratorian Fragment qualifies it as "written by Solomon's friends in his honour". A probable view ascribes it to the period of Ptolemy Physcon (145-117 B.C.). The Vulgate text is *Vetus Latina*; St. Jerome would not emendate any but the Hebrew Canon to which Wisdom did not belong.¹

¹ Jerome, *In Lib. Sal. juxt. LXX.*, *Pref. in Sal.*; Cornely, *Introd. Spec.*, ii. 223-27.

Ben Sira or Ecclesiasticus.—Ecclesiasticus, we learn from its well-known prologue, was composed in Hebrew, —some portions of which, though perhaps mingled with re-translations, have been lately recovered,—by Jesus the son of Sirach (about 200 or 180 B.C.) and rendered into Greek by his grandson (130 or a little later). Arguments which would carry it back to Simon I., the Just, and the year 280, have no great weight. The present title, which is not original, appears to indicate that neophytes were given this book as an introduction to Holy Scripture. In Greek it is called the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach; in Hebrew according to St. Jerome, Meshalim, *i.e.* Parables. Its resemblance to Proverbs is deliberate and obvious. First, it delivers precepts concerning virtues, ii.-xxiii.; second, it brings in Wisdom speaking, and continues the doctrine to xlii. 14; third, it gives examples from Jewish tradition and a panegyric in chapter l. of the High Priest Simon (probably the Second). With a prayer for enlightenment it concludes. Some transposition of leaves has taken place in the Greek MSS., but the Vulgate order is to be maintained.¹

The Date of Baruch.—Baruch is virtually a part of Jeremiah, and has always held that position among Catholic Fathers, as well as in Church catalogues. It has introduction, i. 1-14; confessions and prayers to iii. 8; praise of wisdom and promise of the Return, iii. 9-v. 9, and Ep. of Jer. vi. The first section is thought to exhibit much more affinity with Hebrew than the last. If by "the Epistle" Origen meant the whole of Baruch, its existence in that language would be decided. The notes in Syro-Hexaplar seem to favour this conclusion. Modern critics deny its organic unity; are divided as regards the primitive language of various portions, though Hebrew is now favoured; agree generally that Baruch was not the author; and bring it down to the

¹ Jerome, *ut supra*, *Pref. in Sal.*; for Heb. Text, Cowley, Schechter, Margoliouth; Nestle in Hastings, *D. B.* Cornely, *ut supra*, 248-52, on date and author.

first century B.C. The closing passage, quoted so frequently in Patristic literature (iv. 36-v. 9), resembles the eleventh among the Psalms of Solomon, composed in Hebrew, but here imitated from a Greek translation. Baruch, on this argument, should be added to the list of pseudepigraphs.¹

Tobit and its Questions.—Tobit or Tobias comes first in order of deutero-canonical books with Latins, testifying that it was held to be the oldest among them. The Vulgate accepts St. Jerome's version, which is an abridgment, not literal, from a "Chaldee" reading unknown till recent times, when it was recovered in substance by Neubauer. That its original was Hebrew is altogether probable. The Vatican Greek text is held in high esteem. Catholics do not agree touching the authorship, which many would ascribe to the elder Tobit, while others leave the book anonymous. But all are of one mind in rejecting views, common to outside critics, that it was composed after the Christian era. Grätz, for example, attributes it to the period of Hadrian (120 A.D.) and Neubauer assents. Moderns draw a strong argument from the silence of Josephus. When it was included in the LXX. we cannot tell. But there is every reason to hold that Christians would never have regarded as Scripture a Hebrew volume written in or after Apostolic times by a non-Christian. The variations in text are many and remarkable. Tobit is certainly Haggadah of a beautiful kind. Regarding its historical worth, no tradition of the Fathers obligatory on Catholics appears to exist. Its relation to other stories, such as *The Grateful Dead* and the *Tale of Ahichar*, has been used in illustration of the romantic nature ascribed to it by modern readers; so too the symbolical names of its personages, and the borrowings, as they say, from Persian mythology of Asmodeus (*Aeshma-daeva*), etc.

¹ Vigouroux, *M. B.*, ii. nos. 718-24; *E. Bi.*, *ad vocem*.

Whatever be thought of these allegations, a history like Tobit's in all its religious circumstances must have been far from uncommon during the Exile and Captivity. The ministering care of angels is an article of the Catholic as it was of the Hebrew faith; and we may consider this beautiful little story as indeed a pious apologue, but not on that account fictitious, any more than the Lives of the Saints which it manifestly anticipates. The book is well termed a practical vindication of Providence, and falls into the same category with Job, Esther, Judith. We need not take it for a chapter of Assyrian history in the strict sense.¹

Judith.—Judith occupies a similar position, and is to be judged by its Haggadic character. St. Jerome handled it at the request of some Latin bishops, translating his Aramaic text hurriedly with an eye to the *Vetus Itala*. The original was Semitic, as idioms and construction prove. Both Greek and Latin, though varying much, are authentic recensions, but the Latin omits a good deal. No author can be suggested. The historical data have given rise to discussions which tend more and more towards disproving that Judith was written either before or during the Babylonian captivity. "Nebuchadonosor" did not reign in Nineveh or take Ekbatana; Arphaxad, the Median King, is really a geographical expression; Arioch, King of the Elymæans, is borrowed from Genesis; and the Persian name of Holofernes will not suit a Babylonian-Assyrian commander of 600 B.C. Other anachronisms are noted. The explanations offered do not satisfy learned men; and it seems advisable to deduce from the very way in which history and geography are handled that the writer himself meant his work to be read as a free description of the past. The name of the High Priest Joachim (xv. 9) is certainly that of one who lived in the times of Zerubbabel, which

¹ Vigouroux, *M. B.*, nos. 169-73, for the old historical view; Neubauer, *Book of Tobit*, for recovered text. Gigot, *Spec. Introd.*, 342; R. Harris, *Story of Ahikar*.

makes impossible the references to an Assyrian monarch. Bethulia has been identified on good grounds with Shecnem, and points to the Maccabean era. But its designation in the story is symbolical (virgin of Israel), as are the names of Judith and Achior. Hence, while assuming a basis of fact, we may call the book an inspired parable.¹

History and Midrash in Maccabees.—Four books of Maccabees are extant, of which the Third and Fourth have been put aside by the Church as uncanonical. Those which we call 1 and 2 bear a relation to each other not unlike that between Kings and Chronicles. 1 Macc. is an admirable specimen of history according to the best Hebrew standard; while 2 Macc. supplements it in part after the manner of Midrash, but is not a sequel, and comes from an independent source. The original dialect of 1 Macc. was Hebrew or Aramaic. St. Jerome found it in what he calls Hebrew, which may mean either idiom. 2 Macc. was always Hellenistic, resembling Polybius, rich in words, and highly rhetorical. Of neither volume is the author ascertained; but the second declares itself to be an epitome of a much larger work, in five books, by Jason of Cyrene. 1 Macc. was written not long after the death of John Hyrcanus (105 B.C.). 2 Macc. probably attaches, in its materials, to somewhere about 150-124, and in composition may be located between the last-mentioned date and the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 64 B.C. The Greek version of 1 Macc. is excellent. Our Vulgate follows the Vetus Latina.

The whole has been termed "Maccabees" (or Machabees, which LXX. favours) as indicating not authorship but subject. What this title of Judas the Deliverer means has never been satisfactorily made out; perhaps, as in Charles "Martel," it signifies the "Hammer". Whoever composed the First Book writes like a Jew of

¹ Vigouroux, ii. 187-94, defends literal history; Gigot, *Intr. Spec. (pro et contra)*, 352, 355. Sayce, *contra*, *Higher Crit. Mon.*, 552.

Palestine and a Sadducee, employs documents and information contemporaneous with events, is accurate in his chronology, and has bequeathed to us a "record of priceless value". Statements dealing with Alexander the Great, Roman institutions, the pedigree of the Spartans, and other foreign matters lie open to criticism; but they represent the views of persons quoted or common reports, and leave inspiration untouched.

2 Macc. offers a different appearance. It is, in many respects, a singular and, on the traditional view of Scripture, almost a unique composition. The two letters by which it is introduced have not, in themselves, any claim to divine authority, more than the rescripts of Persian Kings elsewhere copied (Ezra-Nehem.). Was Jason of Cyrene an inspired author? That position is held by no Catholic commentator on the Bible. But, again, the writer says, "All such things we have attempted to abridge in one book . . . leaving to the authors the exact handling of every particular". And he finishes with an apology: "which if I have done well, and as it becometh the history, it is what I desired; but if not so perfectly, it must be pardoned me" (ii. 24, 29; xv. 39).

The epitomator is not, then, answerable for "every particular" point; we may argue that Jason of Cyrene, going upon the usual methods of narration in his time, set down reports as they came to him. The earlier portion is allowed to be substantially true; and in much it agrees with 1 Macc., in several other accounts with Josephus. But "improbabilities and exaggerations" have been charged on the book as a whole, including discrepancies from its predecessor; and the abundant supernatural details give umbrage to modern critics. These difficulties find their treatment in our commentators and cannot be answered *en bloc*. Yet when we observe so frequent a reference to Divine interposition, it is plain that the author's purpose approaches much more nearly than that of 1 Macc. to prophetic teaching;

while history is made to furnish the background. We have already met a similar use of it in Chronicles. Accordingly, there would be no obligation on us to defend the exact statements of which it is said, in so many words, that the responsibility for them lies outside this abridgment. But 2 Macc. throws an instructive light upon the laws which govern inspiration, both as regards its human preliminaries and its relation to the materials brought under survey. Compilation is now regarded by scholars as the appropriate method of our historical books; and that edification, not the imparting of knowledge, was their chief aim (as so clearly appears in this abridgment) is a principle which lightens indefinitely the task of exegesis. Thus, then, 2 Macc. confirms what has been said by Newman, "though the Bible be inspired, it has all such characteristics as might attach to a book uninspired".¹

These Writings and the Canon.—Our next question concerns the place of these later Scriptures in the Christian Economy. Protestants, for whom they constitute the "Apocrypha" (which from its first meaning "hidden" has come to signify "spurious"), have excluded them altogether from their Bible, or given them a lower rank, such as the Church of England in her sixth Article expresses, "And the other Books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read, for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine". What was the verdict of the Fathers? Since "Hierome" by himself cannot found a tradition, we inquire how the matter stands in Catholic antiquity at large. The answer is not doubtful. Antiquity went beyond the Hebrew catalogue in theory and practice.

No List in the Bible Itself.—A list of sacred writings is nowhere to be met with in the Old or New Testament. Whatever authority drew one up it did so by

¹ *Discussions and Arguments*, 146; Gigot, *Int. Spec.*, 365-81; Patrizi, *De Consensu Lib. Macc.*; Fairweather in Hastings, *D. B.*, *ad vocam.*

choosing from books already extant, but neither the catalogue nor its history finds mention in the books themselves. It is impossible to separate the volumes of the Second from the First Canon by appealing to a Bible-statement. In short, the Canon is an ecclesiastical dogma. "Every Scripture," we learn from St. Paul, is inspired; but what is every Scripture? This we can only find out by the use and acceptance of Fathers, Councils, Popes; in which if some degree of variation appears during times known to us so imperfectly as the first centuries, we ought not to be surprised. The explanation is, in most cases, not far to seek.

LXX. and New Testament Recognise Larger Canon.

—Negatively, then, no date is assignable at which Christians did not regard as inspired other books outside the Palestinian Hebrew. And, positively, among such were the deutero-canonical in question. Of 350 references made in the New Testament to ancient sacred authors, 300 are taken, it appears, from the LXX. Irenæus and St. Jerome, as well as Origen, remark on the circumstance.¹ But in the Apostolic period it is certain that this Greek library included most, if not all, of our present reckoning. Moreover, implicit citations from the larger Canon are found in Gospel and Epistles. Allusions to Wisdom of Solomon have been traced in St. Matthew, Romans, Hebrews, and 1 Peter; to Ecclus. in St. James and St. Matthew; to Judith and 2 Macc. in Hebrews. Seven books of the Palestine Canon are never quoted in the New Testament; so that we cannot argue from the silence of the Apostles and Evangelists, but from their practice we may. Origen writes sarcastically of those who would do away with the copies (*exemplaria*) of Scripture used in our churches in order to beg from the Jews an incorrupt reading. There is no book, strictly apocryphal, of which a wide and lasting usage among the Fathers can

¹ Iren., iii. 21; Jerome, *Præf. in Evang.*; Origen, *in Rom.*

be demonstrated. Those of the Second Canon are employed like the others, not merely to give edifying examples but to prove articles of the faith, on all hands, without apology or qualification, in an unbroken series of which, as above indicated, the oldest links go back to our Lord's disciples. Such, also, is the witness of the MSS., we are told by experts. In the East every one handled the LXX. as authentic Scripture; in the West, from 200 A.D. the Latin versions took a similar position. But neither East nor West confined itself to the twenty-two Hebrew volumes. History teaches that the Christian Bible always had in it books of the second division.¹

Quotations in Fathers.—Thus, Clement of Rome refers to Wisd., Eccclus., Judith and Greek Esther; the Clementine Homily shows acquaintance with Tobias; the *Shepherd* of Hermas brings in Eccclus. and 2 Macc. St. Irenæus borrows from Wisd.; quotes Baruch as "Jeremias the Prophet," and fragments of Daniel by a corresponding formula. St. Hippolytus commented on Daniel, including the story of Susanna; he quoted Wisd., Tob., Macc. and Baruch. When we arrive at 200 A.D. citations of all these works as from Holy Writ are common in the Latin Church; Tertullian and Cyprian carry them on to later times.²

Among Eastern writers, Barnabas (so-called) quotes Eccclus.; St. Polycarp, Tobias; and Athenagoras, Baruch. Clement Alex. refers to Wisd., Tob., Baruch, as "Divine" or "Scripture," and draws no distinction between the Hebrew and Greek Canon. Origen defends in express terms against Julius Africanus the canonicity of Tob., Judith, fragments of Esther and Daniel; he employs all the books in his apologetical writings without discrimination. Dionysius Alex. follows him and quotes Eccclus., Wisd., Baruch, Tobias. The learned Methodius, who died in 311, on the eve of Constantine's

¹ Cornely, *Introd. Gen.*, 62-64, gives references in detail to N. T.

² Cornely, *ut supra*, 68-71.

triumph, does not differ on this head from Origen, whose other views he combated. "Equal authority, based on equal inspiration," was allowed by these Fathers to all the writings in LXX.¹

Polemical Usage and Doubts.—St. Justin M. held the Alexandrian text to be inspired; he made it a charge against the Jews that they had mutilated the Scriptures (which, however, does not seem to raise a controversy about the two Canons), and he quotes from the Greek Daniel. In disputing with Trypho the Hebrew, naturally it is to the Palestine recension that he first appeals.² This polemical usage has always been well understood; it explains why Melito of Sardis (about 170 A.D.), who was the first Christian writer to set down in a catalogue "the Books of the Old Testament," should have limited their contents—omitting Esther by some oversight—to the Jewish. But he may have opened the problem which, sooner or later, was sure to be mooted, of the double Canon. We feel its influence when we take up Origen's commentaries. That great scholar, on the one hand, rejects with disdain every attempt to make lapsed Israel a judge over Christians. But, on the other, when he gives a list of the Old Testament he reckons the twenty-two Hebrew books and those only. As an apologist, Origen cites all the writings accustomed to be read in Church; as a critic, he may have been drawn to narrower views. Certain it is that St. Athanasius (perhaps 367 A.D.) in his "Festal Letter," distinguishes and puts outside the Canon, while reserving them for the instruction of neophytes, Tobias, Judith, Wisd., Eccclus.,—the practice seeming to be ancient in Alexandria. But the Saint utterly rejects the "Apocrypha," which lie beyond these two divisions and were invented by heretics.³

¹ Cornely, *ut supra*, 72-75; Reuss, *Hist. du Canon*.

² But see C. Tryph., 137, in favour of LXX.

³ Cornely, *ut supra*, 75-78; Orig., in *Psalm.*; Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 25; Redepenning, *Origenes* (Germ.).

Canonical-Ecclesiastical-Apocryphal. — We now perceive three classes of documents, to be carefully distinguished, canonical, ecclesiastical, and apocryphal. The first two classes may be termed, as in Eusebius, “acknowledged” and “disputed,” though the Bishop of Cæsarea deals rather with criticism than Catholic tradition, and he is far from rejecting the Second Canon. St. Cyril of Jerusalem († 386) recommends to his catechumens the twenty-two books of St. Athanasius (adding Ruth to Judges, and including Esther which the Alexandrian Patriarch had omitted). Then he says: “Let the others be outside, in a lower rank, and do not read in private that which is not read in the churches”. St. Epiphanius the Cypriote († 403) is less explicit; he counts twenty-seven Hebrew books, including Baruch with Jeremiah; and puts into a different list, while praising them, Wisdom and Ecclus. Elsewhere, these latter writings come with him under the designation of “all the divine Scriptures”. St. Gregory Naz. († 389) gives the Hebrew list, calls other books “intermediate” between sacred and profane, and a third sort dangerous. He quotes, in his Orations, Wisd. and Ecclus. To the same effect SS. Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Cæsarius. The sixtieth Canon of Laodicæa (doubtful age and origin, perhaps 363) follows St. Cyril of Jerusalem. And we may not overlook the eighty-fifth of the so-called Apostolic Canons, which the Eastern Church accepted in Trullo (692). This enactment adds to the Hebrew list three Books of Maccabees and commends to neophytes the Wisdom of Sirach. St. John Chrysostom quotes indiscriminately from both divisions, and so Theodoret, representing the Greek-Syrian usage.¹

The West and St. Jerome.—Let us return to the Western Fathers. St. Hilary of Poitiers († 366), borrowing his exposition of Psalms from Origen, lays down the catalogue of twenty-two Books, but quotes,

¹ Cornely, *ut supra*, 90-100, replies to objections.

nevertheless, from all the others. Rufinus, who defended Origen vehemently against St. Jerome, writing on the Creed, affirms the Hebrew list, goes on to reckon the books of the New Testament as we have them, declares that "these are the books which the Fathers have inserted in the Canon, and upon which they have established the truths of our faith," but allows another division, the ecclesiastical (our six deuterocanonical without Baruch), and these are read in church. Then he mentions "apocrypha," not to be read. By "the Fathers" he is thought to mean the Easterns, various of whom we have recited previously.

St. Jerome, in his preface to Kings (*Prolog. galeatus*, about 391), applies the word "apocrypha" to all our second catalogue, and declares without reserve "they are not in the Canon". His letter to Paulinus, where he gives the list of the Old Testament books, passes them over. In prefacing Ezra, he rejects 3 and 4 Esdras, adding that whatever is not found among the Hebrews "should be cast far from us". It is when introducing Solomon that he writes the celebrated words, an echo of Rufinus, which the Sixth Article of the English Church incorporates. He is severe on the fragments of Esther; still more on those of Daniel; exclaims that Origen, Eusebius, Apollinaris, and the other Greeks bear him out, and that these additions are not Holy Scripture. Writing to Læta, his language is violent concerning "all the apocrypha"; he would seem not to spare any, whether ecclesiastical or profane.

These expressions find no warrant in the general tradition. It is true that St. Jerome once or twice employs Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, but he does so under restriction. In writing about such works to Western bishops, he is more on his guard, and he says, "As we read that the Council of Nicæa reckoned Judith among the Scriptures, I have consented to your request". Later introductions (Dan., 412; Jerem., 414), as also the disputes with Pelagians, show that Jerome had

become very unwilling to admit the larger Canon ; for him it would appear that authenticity and inspiration are commensurate with the Hebrew. That so he thought habitually cannot be questioned.¹

African and Roman Decisions.—Yet a tradition which compelled St. Jerome to translate for the Western Church these non-Hebrew texts—though he would not touch Maccabees, leaving the *Vetus Latina* as he found it—must needs have been very clear. The Greek Fathers, while drawing a line between the two divisions, also drew one between the “ecclesiastical” books and the “apocrypha”; they seem to admit degrees of inspiration, rather than to banish the second class of writings from Scripture. That position, so conceived, was untenable. And Latin Christendom, during those years of argument, upheld what it had received before the disputes arose. If St. Jerome represented a somewhat impatient scholarship, his great African contemporary stood for the immemorial usage. Theology, as regards the Canon, must always utter the decisive word. It did so now in three Councils at which St. Augustine was present (Hippo, 393 ; Carthage, 397, 419). The first and second ask for “confirmation of this canon from the Church oversea,” *i.e.* Rome. The third submits it to the Roman Pontiff, St. Boniface, by name.

Rome had already spoken. There was a document, “*De recipiendis et non recipiendis libris*,” which Pope Damasus probably issued about 374, containing the First and Second Canon, as the African Fathers now reckoned it. In 405 St. Jerome dedicated to Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, his commentary on Zechariah. The bishop consulted Pope Innocent I. on the general subject, and received a list of sacred books identical with that of Damasus. Further evidence, which brings out the tradition of the Spanish Catholics, has been dis-

¹ His views are well stated in Cornely, *ut supra*, 104-11.

covered in a work by the heretic Priscillian, *Liber de fide et apocryphis*. From this it appears that no question had been raised in Spain touching the deuterocanonical books; but that real apocrypha such as 4 Esdras were altogether excluded from the Bible. East and West agreed in three principles: (1) that it was for the Church to settle the Canon of Scripture; (2) that books not read in the congregation of the faithful were outside it; (3) that the deuterocanonical parts were inspired. Thus, if we remember how the whole Church had always taken the Septuagint for an authentic version of the Old Testament approved by the Apostles, we may safely conclude that whatever differences were rife between Rome, Spain, Africa on the one side, and Alexandria or Jerusalem on the other, in effect they all held the same premisses. And history confirms this opinion, for the East has never limited its Canon to the Hebrew. The most eminent Greek Fathers make use of the second list in their teaching as Divine Scripture; and the Western catalogue was never among the causes which divided Byzantium from Rome. As much can be said of the Oriental Churches, Nestorian, Jacobite, Armenian and Coptic.¹

Private Views are not Tradition.—St. Jerome, undoubtedly, gave an opening for discussion, vestiges of which were visible among his Latin readers down to mediæval times. In this respect we may liken him to St. Augustine, the “Doctor of divine Grace,” as he was of Scripture; a similar distinction will apply in both cases. St. Augustine has authority, so far as he expresses the universal teaching; but his private views we need not accept, and we may sometimes feel bound to criticise them. The divergence in St. Jerome’s thoughts about our deuterocanonical books from that account of them which prevailed before and after his time, takes away his representative character; it is

¹ Loisy, *Can. V. T.*, 124-34.

certain that he did not interpret the facts of tradition accurately as we know them. Davidson remarks justly, that "the Fathers who give catalogues of the Old Testament show the existence of a Jewish and a Christian canon, the latter wider than the former, their private opinion more favourable to the one, though the other was historically transmitted".¹ In a striking page, addressed to Leibnitz, the famous Bossuet sums up and applies a rule which, in his *De Doctrina Christiana*, St. Augustine has left on this subject. "To establish the succession of a sacred book," the French bishop observes, "and our perpetual belief in it, all we require is to show that it was ever recognised, and that by the greatest number, the most ancient and revered; that it held its own and was spread abroad until the Holy Spirit (the power of tradition and feeling, not of individuals, but of the Church) enabled it to triumph, as at the Council of Trent." He adds, "Since the term 'canonical' has not always borne a uniform sense, to deny that a book is canonical in one meaning, does not exclude it from the Canon in another. . . . So that we ought to reconcile, rather than to set in opposition, Churches and writers, by principles common amid their differences, and by clearing up doubtful words."²

Mediæval Opinions.—Nothing could be more exact to the points at issue. Eastern Fathers did not put aside the divine authority of our Second Catalogue; but they used the term Canon after a manner which the Church has not adopted. St. Jerome's distinction between books dogmatic and books merely instructive lingered on, and was perpetuated by his Prefaces no less than by his parenthetical remarks up and down the Vulgate, yet without exciting controversy or commanding unmixed assent. Space forbids our dwelling on

¹ Davidson, *Canon of Bib.*, 132.

² *Apud* Loisy, *Can. V. T.*, 225.

the mediæval Westerns who repeat and in some degree maintain it. Among them St. Gregory the Great, Ven. Bede, perhaps Alcuin, the *Glossa Ordinaria* of Walafrid Strabo, Hugh of St. Victor, John of Salisbury, would deserve mention. But practice and tradition were unaffected by the subtleties of the schools, which instead of restricting inspiration tended to shelter beneath it Canon Law and the Roman decretals. The Eastern Church accepted without discrimination the various catalogues of Carthage and in Trullo, harmonised them by use, and scarcely differed from the Vulgate Canon, but issued no new regulations. St. John of Damascus imitates the language while following the custom of St. Epiphanius. Later on Nicephorus of Constantinople completes the list with certain "antilegomena," which include all our books, and the Psalms of Solomon. To this grouping the *Synopsis* called after St. Athanasius is now attached.¹

Nicholas de Lyra († 1341), and William of Occam (1347), take St. Jerome's words literally. Tostatus († 1455), St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence († 1459), Denys the Carthusian († 1471), Ximenes in the preface to his Polyglot (1518), and last of all, Cajetan († 1534), continue to quote and more or less to follow the same opinions.

Florence and Trent.—But when authority spoke again, they were not taken into account. At Florence (1442) Eugenius IV. published, with the approval of the Fathers, his decree for the Jacobites. It declared that "the holy Roman Church acknowledges one and the same God to be author of the Old and New Testament, *viz.*, of Law, Prophets, and Gospel, inasmuch as by inspiration of one Holy Spirit the Saints of both Testaments have spoken whose books she receives and venerates under the following titles". A complete list is given, the works of both classes mingled indiscrimin-

¹ Loisy, *ut supra*, 135-50.

ately. It is the catalogue set forth by SS. Damasus and Innocent I.

Florence was an œcumenical Council, the decrees of which could not be broken. Therefore when at Trent (1546) the bishops decided on their *modus agendi*, it was not a question whether the larger Canon should be received, but in what terms the deuterocanonical books (sometimes called apocrypha during the private debates) were to be mentioned. The bishops voted for a simple repetition of the Florentine catalogue; they were desirous to leave problems like that of St. Jerome's language "as the Fathers had left them". So it was done. No difference in point of canonicity between any of the books recognised as "sacred and canonical" found acceptance in the Fourth Session. Alike with Catholic traditions they were entitled to an equal reverence and regard. Whether in contents more dogmatic or less, all being inspired were entitled to the same acknowledgment. From henceforth no orthodox Christian was permitted to reject any of them, in whole or in part, as they stood in the Latin Vulgate and had been read in the Church time out of mind. This decree covers not only books but fragments, and of course applies to both Testaments.¹

So far as Catholic principles and practice were concerned, the Tridentine measure brought in no new thing. East and West had always acted on the view now put forward; the real innovation would have been to restrict the Canon in a Hebrew sense and deny that the seven books and fragments were inspired. "Unless by rejecting her own past," says Reuss, a German Protestant critic, "the Catholic Church could not decide otherwise than in fact she did." The reformers who, beginning with Luther in 1519, had excluded Maccabees and the rest from their Bible-Canon, thereby threw off Church authority, but were at a loss how to determine

¹ Loisy, *ut supra*, 180, 194, 208; Theiner, *Acta Trident.*, i. 49-86.

what books ought to be admitted. In regard to the Old Testament they fell back on the Synagogue and its Palestinian recension,—which was but substituting, contrary to Origen's axiom, the Jewish for the Christian rule of Scripture. It is worth while to remark that the Anglican Sixth Article invokes tradition and decides by it, "In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church"; and again, "All the Books of the New Testament as they are commonly received we do receive and account them Canonical".

When, however, Catholic usage was no longer the touchstone, and private judgment took its place, the appeal might be to a supernatural intuition (Luther and Calvin), or to reason (the Socinians), or to historical and literary methods (the Higher Criticism). Canonicity, inspiration, revelation, all were submitted to a dissolving process, and the Bible, at first absolutely divine, lost its prerogatives little by little. As an inspired whole, recognised by the Fathers, known to the faithful, digested into liturgy and Breviary, from which nothing could be taken, it was saved to the Church by the Council of Trent.

SECTION II.

CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

Immediate Pre-Christian Literature.—In the series of sacred writings there is a break extending over more than a century, from the last deutero-canonical book (whichever it was) to the first of the Pauline Epistles. A large literature of apocalypses and allegories fills the interspace. The unknown authors who attributed their dreams to Enoch, Moses, and the Sibyls, represent one direction which the human spirit was now taking; Philo the Alexandrian, who evaporated the Bible into mystic and moral symbolism, stands for another and, to some extent, an opposite school.¹ Providence had so ordered the course of things that whatever possessed a value in these two movements should be distilled, as it were, into the Book of Revelation and the Fourth Gospel, both of which come to us under the name of St. John. But before this consummation was reached, a new Law given by Jesus of Nazareth found expression in the Gospels termed synoptic; and a fresh order of Prophets commented on it in the Apostles' Letters. Seventy or eighty years after our Lord's Ascension the whole was finished. Its acknowledgment and reduction into a Canon occupied the best part of a hundred

¹ *Vide supra* on Book of Daniel, 121; and Vigouroux, i. 119-44.

years. And some portions were disputed by particular Churches long afterwards. Could we observe the sequence of time, it would from a critical point of view be, perhaps, the more expedient. But as the Gospels did not take their origin from the Epistles, but were independent of them,—and since the Evangelists reproduce the direct evidence of those who had known Christ and lived with Him,—in following the New Testament book by book we should not be unfaithful to history.

Critical Questions of the New Testament.—Book by book? Yet we must also consider the first three Gospels in relation, for there is a Synoptic problem, analogous to the double and treble strains of the Pentateuch, which we cannot pass over. The Johannine problem is, in point of time, the latest; but again is practically independent of the Pauline, which breaks up into three; and for what is left, the Acts of the Apostles cannot be separated from St. Luke, the Catholic Epistles furnish in various ways an appendix to St. Paul. Should we use the term *deutero-canonical*, or “*antilegomena*,” it will be understood of the Epistle to the Hebrews, St. James, 2 Peter, 1 and 2 St. John, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse. Three fragments come under this head, Mark xvi. 9-20; Luke xxii. 43, 44; John vii. 53-viii. 11.

The Canon and the Message.—The Canon of Trent as regards the New Testament is not disputed by any Church.

Before attempting by analysis to find out the relation of our Gospels to one another, we should fix in our minds the external evidence which authenticates them. Such evidence cannot lose its value; our guesses and comparisons are always open to doubt.

The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is a living message, delivered by Him to the Church, and by the Church to mankind. Its instrument is preaching; its power is conveyed in public ordinances; the New

Testament is its record. Our Saviour wrote nothing, neither did He leave a command to write. All the New Testament is occasional; in its parts we register no union of efforts or synodal action; and except so far as SS. Matthew, Mark, and Luke have embodied a "common view" (synopsis) in their narratives, the collection is made up of separate works, "as if casually and by accident". They ever suppose an oral teaching enforced by authority, to which must be referred the hints, allusions, passing glimpses, due at once to reverence and familiar knowledge, that we meet in pages so little resembling the treatises of philosophers. Our New Testament is not a scientific manual, nor a Law-book with its decrees in order; and, of course, it did not come into existence before the Christian society was founded, neither had it currency as a thing apart from the Apostles and their successors. Even St. Paul grounds his doctrine on tradition and agreement with the Twelve as represented by SS. Peter, James, and John (1 Cor. xi. 23; Gal. ii. 2; 1 Tim. vi. 20); much more would this be the duty of men who were not Apostles, such as Mark and Luke. The conclusion, allowed on every side, is supremely important. We take our Gospels from the Church, as having a sacred because a collective approval,—documents certainly inspired, but no less written according to the mind of that religious organism in which they grew up, by which they were adapted to its own needs and opportunities. Do we ask who was the editor of the New Testament? There is but one answer conceivable; it was the Catholic Church.¹

Oral Teaching Came First.—This oral teaching, as might be expected, fell into set forms very early, and was committed to memoranda which, being private, would lay stress now on the events, and again on the discourses, associated with Christ. St. Luke distin-

¹ Tertull., *De Præscript.*, 19, 29; *Adv. Marcion*, iv. 5.

guishes between the "narrative" he had drawn up and the "instruction" Theophilus had received (i. 1-4). Previously to his Gospel "many" had undertaken a similar task. The form of "catechesis" we may observe in Acts, where St. Stephen illustrates how the first Christian teachers would proceed, establishing themselves on eye-witnesses, above all, on the Apostles, who were ordained for that purpose (chap. vii.). Of written Gospels it is doubtful if any trace be found in St. Paul or the other Epistles. But as St. Luke had previous narratives in view, so, it is generally held, had our actual St. Matthew; various moderns believe that St. Mark, in its present shape, is a recension of earlier documents.

Earliest Witnesses—Papias.—Omitting all that for a while, we cannot question St. John's acquaintance with our synoptics; which throws all four Gospels back into the first century A.D. Conjectures bringing them down much later have no standing-ground, so that Harnack terms the synoptics Christian palæontology. In Clement Rom. we cannot be sure of allusions to any of them; but as many as thirteen parallels to Mt., Mk., Lk. are offered with minute verbal differences.¹ The first undeniable witness in point of time outside the New Testament is Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis (born perhaps 85 A.D.; date of writing, 115-130?). Papias composed in five books an *Exposition of the Lord's Logia*, meaning thereby the "oracles" of Christ; and he "set them forth," as Eusebius relates, *i.e.*, wrote them down, or, it may be, expounded their significance. In doing so, he turns away from the multitude of unauthorised books then in circulation, and gets his knowledge through those who had been conversant with our Lord's disciples. Among such was John "the Elder". Eusebius thought this John could not be the Apostle, and his view is commonly taken. But Irenæus calls

¹ Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, ii. 516.

Papias the "hearer of John and companion of Polycarp," the latter being well known to the Bishop of Lyons.¹

St. Jerome repeats the statement more than once. Perhaps we have not sufficiently clear data on which to decide. It will be safer if we go with Eusebius. What is actually said about the Gospels by Papias in the fragments left has given rise to endless discussion. It seems to run literally as follows: "Mark having been the interpreter of Peter, as many things as he repeated (or remembered) he set down accurately, not however in order,—things said or done by Christ. For he (Mark) was not a hearer of the Lord, nor had he followed Him, but later on, as I said, Peter, who adapted his teachings to the occasion, but did not make a regular series of the Lord's words (or oracles); so that Mark committed no fault, writing down some things as he (*i.e.* Peter) taught them from memory; for about one point he was very careful, not to leave out anything he had heard, or to speak falsehood." And again, "Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew dialect, and every one interpreted (or translated) them as he was able". Of Luke and John it is not certain whether Papias spoke at all. Yet he alludes to the First Epistle of John; we cannot imagine that the Fourth Gospel was not extant when he wrote, or was unknown in his neighbourhood; and great modern authorities hold that Eusebius merely cut short his quotations from the bishop whom, as being a millenarian, he despised. The suggestion is thrown out that St. John's Gospel, though in use, had not yet attained canonical rank beyond Ephesus; or not everywhere.²

St. Justin Martyr, Tatian and Theophilus.—Justin Martyr (date of evidence, 145-149) is mentioned next. He distinguishes between oral teaching and writing. In his First Apology we find, "As those have taught who

¹ Iren., v. 33.

² Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39. See generally on Papias, Bonaccorsi, *Tre Primi Vangeli*, 54-68; Mgr. Barnes in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1905.

recorded all things about our Saviour Jesus Christ"; and he speaks of the "Memoirs composed by the Apostles which are called Gospels"; and tells us that "on the day called Sunday the Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read". From these Memoirs he quotes the facts of our Lord's life; the sayings given agree twice with Matthew and twice with Luke. His adversary, the Jew Trypho, alludes to the "Gospel so-called"; whenever writing is mentioned in this Dialogue it refers chiefly to St. Matthew—the "Hebrew" volume of Papias. Justin appears to lay great stress on our St. Luke. Another passage in the Dialogue with Trypho refers to and seems to quote the "Memoirs of Peter," which cannot in the middle of second century well be understood except of our St. Mark. The apocryphal "Gospel of Peter" would not be among those read in Church on Sunday. Furthermore, Justin names "John one of the Apostles of Christ" as author of the Apocalypse; and has expressions concerning "the Word," and "the only-begotten of the Father" which point to our Fourth Gospel.¹ This probability (if it is not rather a certitude) has been much strengthened by the late recovery of Tatian's *Diatessaron* (whether in original condition is disputed), which combines into a single narrative the four Evangelists. Tatian (150-180 A.D., period of his activity) was Justin's immediate follower, an Assyrian who knew Greek, and who founded a sect of his own, the Encratites. His work bears witness to the universal recognition in his time of the Gospels as we have them now. And his *Apology*, an earlier Catholic production, clearly imitates the opening of St. John, while in another place it borrows from the First Johannine Epistle. Add the witness of Dionysius of Corinth (160), who alludes to falsifications then inflicted on the "Lord's Scriptures".²

¹ Justin, M., 1 *Apol.*, 65, 67; *Contr. Tryph.*, 90, 103, 106; on Apoc., *Tryph.*, 81. *E. Bi.*, "Gospels," 1820, for other references.

² Tatian, *Diatess.* (Ante-Nicene Libr.). For Dionys. Cor., Euseb., iv. 23.

Theophilus, sixth Bishop of Antioch (about 180?), declares that "the doctrines of the Prophets and the Gospels are consentient, because all spoke being filled with the Holy Spirit of God". And again, "These things the sacred Scriptures teach and all the inspired among whom John says, In the beginning was the Word". St. Jerome mentions a harmony of the Four Gospels from his hand, now lost.

Pseudo-Barnabas—Ignatius of Antioch.—Testimonies disputed are to be found in Epistle of Barnabas, who seems to quote from St. Matthew, with the formula, "as it is written"; in Clementine Homily; and in St. Ignatius to the Ephesians, Smyrnæans, Philadelphians, Romans. It can hardly be denied that the Churches addressed by the Martyr had in some shape Gospel-writings; and his language is best understood by taking it in that sense. For he, like Papias, glories in a living tradition which he contrasts with "archives" or documents, and those not of the Old Testament alone. We may say that he "recognised Matthew and probably Mark but not Luke". He has one striking resemblance to John.¹ It has even been held that his Letters "abundantly show" an assimilation to the Fourth Gospel in doctrine and language. In like manner the *Didache*, which Harnack derives from Ep. of Barnabas, but which is at any rate very early, is "saturated," according to B. Weiss, "with the thought and spirit of St. John".²

Testimony of Heretics.—From Tatian it would have been natural to look back on the older heretics, whose dealings with our Gospels lend powerful aid to their authenticity. Basilides, for instance, gave out that he was a disciple of St. Matthew, and his period according to Eusebius falls under Hadrian (117-138). He composed four and twenty books on the Gospel, and in fragments which have come down to us refers certainly

¹ Lightfoot, *Ignat.*, iii. 520, for Script. references.

² Rose, *Studies on the Gospels*, 15, 17, Eng. Tr.

to Matthew, Luke and John. Valentinus, who survived into the episcopate of Anicetus (140-155?), was the patriarch of many Gnostic sectaries; but he also makes similar allusions in what is left from his voluminous treatises. Marcion, still better known, who preceded him (138), by mutilating the Gospel of St. Luke and accepting ten of St. Paul's Epistles while casting aside Titus, Timothy, and Hebrews, bears witness to the double collection then in being from which, with a knife as it was said, he contrived to get his "Gospel" and "Apostolicon".¹

Our general conclusion must be that towards 130 the Four Evangelists were tending to unite in a well-ascertained group of sacred Scriptures, and that controversy about them there was little or none, except on the part of declared heretics, after 160 A.D.

Muratorian Fragment—First Canon of N. T.—Explicit acknowledgment, in the next generation, comes to us from the Muratorian Fragment (about 180-190) and St. Irenæus. The Fragment, discovered by Muratori in 1740, is a rude Latin translation of some lost Greek document, perhaps written in iambic verse (memorial verses were common, as now, for names and numbers). It has been attributed on weighty grounds to Hippolytus, the most eminent of scholars and writers at Rome between 180-220. But an approximate year is fixed in the Latin itself, which speaks of Hermas who "wrote the 'Pastor' quite lately in our times in the city of Rome, his brother Pius the bishop being seated in the chair of the Roman Church". St. Pius, according to the Papal registers, was Pope from 158 to 167. To carry the fragment lower than 200 would be unreasonable; in any case it gives the judgment of Roman authorities who lived at the same period with Irenæus and brings us down to Tertullian. Its intention was to separate the genuine New Testament Scriptures from

¹ *Philosophumena*, 6, for Basilid., and Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 7; Iren., on Marc. and Valent., iii. 3, 4, 12, and repeatedly.

apocryphal works, such as those of Valentinian, Marcion, Basilides, whom it names. Did it also strike at the Montanist prophets? The point is disputed, but not unlikely.

Its first lines have been lost ; they acknowledged St. Matthew, and an unfinished sentence refers undoubtedly to St. Mark, "at which he was present, and thus he set down". Next we read, "thirdly the Book of the Gospel according to Luke," who is called "that physician"; we are informed that he wrote according to the "mind" of St. Paul and "as he was able to attain". Then follows, "Fourth of the Gospels, of John and his disciples," with an account in seven lines of the circumstances under which the Evangelist was persuaded to write, being an eye- and ear-witness of our Lord's miracles. We shall return to these lines when discussing the Johannine problem ; and to the rest of the Fragment as occasion demands.¹

Irenæus of Lyons.—Lastly, Irenæus opposes to Gnostic heresy the tradition which was guarded by the bishops ; and to the multitude of pretended revelations "the Gospel in its fourfold shape, held together by One Spirit". There can be neither more nor less than four Gospels, he says, and he renders mystical reasons which imply that the collection had long been familiar to all Catholics. This remarkable man, who was a friend of Polycarp, born in Asia Minor, bishop in Gaul, on intimate terms with the Popes of his day, and a pilgrim to Rome, gathers up in his single person the Church's teaching. And he considers it refutation enough of certain heretics to observe : "they do not admit that view which is according to John's Gospel". He says that "Matthew wrote his Gospel among the Hebrews when Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding the Church". He calls Mark "the disciple and interpreter of Peter"; while Luke was "the com-

¹ Original of Murat. Frag. in Loisy, *Can. N. T.*, 94-102; Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, ii. 407; Westcott, *Canon*.

panion of Paul" and set out in writing the Evangel which his master preached. John, "the disciple of the Lord, who reclined on Jesus' bosom, wrote his Gospel at Ephesus," to refute "Cerinthus and the sect of Nicholas". These writings had been left to the Christian society by their authors, and "so great is this security touching the Gospels that heretics themselves bear witness to them, and every one who quits us endeavours by means of them to support his own doctrine".¹

Confirmed by the Versions.—A strong confirmation of the early age and ready acceptance of our Gospels is derived from the Syriac version made in the second century and containing all four. It is more ancient than the Latin (African or Roman), but this again could not have been executed and read in the Western Church until some considerable time after the Canon was firmly established. Yet in Tertullian's age, as is clear from his Treatise against Marcion, no Catholic or Montanist doubted the inspiration of the four Evangelists. So that critical problems as regards them, fairly stated, do not touch the second century at all. For from St. John at Ephesus (about 100 A.D.) to the Fathers and versions of 200 A.D. there is no break in the evidence. That St. John, or the editor of his Epistle and Gospel, was acquainted with our Synoptics can be shown from his work, and equally that he "bore witness to their truth," as Eusebius observes in a striking passage.²

Relation of Gospels to Catechesis and Each Other.—But in what relation of date or pedigree the Synoptics stand to one another, allowing all three to have originated before the year 90, is a more involved question. Since there never was a dogmatic resolution of its perplexities, we may conclude that opinions are free within

¹ Iren., iii. 1, 3, 10, 11, *per totum*; for summary of citations from N. T. in early writers between 93-233, see Vigouroux-Bacuez, *M. B.*, ii. 62.

² Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 24.

very wide bounds. At all events, the true answer, could we reach it, would be an equation of a high order. How are these Gospels related to the catechetical teaching that preceded and went along with them? How to the many, public or private, endeavours to set down that teaching in written words? How, again, does each complete form, as we have it, stand to its parallel? Moreover, abstruse as the inquiry is in itself, we cannot bring to bear on it external testimonies, which simply do not exist. Modern conjecture has invented documents in every stage of formation, primitive and derived; but all on grounds for which our present Gospels are called up as witnesses. The result may be imagined. No theory holds the field; each, in turn put forward with confidence and assailed with acrimony, is left to its original defenders or lost in some new combination. A verdict of "not proven" in these matters is surely equivalent to a confession that the data we hold are inadequate.

The Older Views.—Hence, the wisest course would be, it seems, to follow such tradition as there is. The order of our New Testament (which, we take it, is not later than Papias, 140, or some previous date) was probably intended for an order of time. Except Clement Alex., the Fathers unanimously held with Athanasius and Chrysostom,—Eusebius even takes it for granted,—that Matthew wrote first, and in Hebrew, *i.e.* Aramaic. The Alexandrian Chronicle and Nicephorus C. P. give the date as fifteen years after our Lord's Ascension, which would be 44 A.D. This era is connected with what Christians termed the Dispersion of the Apostles, an event prescribed, as they thought, by the Saviour, and occurring in twelve years from His last commandments (Mt. xxviii. 18-20). When the Greek version of Matthew was put forth, and by whom, remained an inquiry. St. Mark, according to Irenæus, wrote "after the departure" of SS. Peter and Paul, whether from Rome or from this earthly life the words do not clearly state; but Eusebius quotes also Clement Alex., who

declares that St. Peter approved of Mark's writing,—an opinion generally adopted in the Church. Our second Gospel would, therefore, have been composed towards 70 A.D. What interval separates from it St. Luke? His Acts of the Apostles (for it is only recent and guess-work critics who deny that he wrote them) were usually thought to have indicated their time by the last verses, which left St. Paul teaching in Rome without molestation, hence before the terrible persecution under Nero in 64. His Gospel is certainly later than some at least of the Epistles of St. Paul; how much later no one can determine. Those moderns (Harnack, etc.) who refuse to believe that our Lord saw in detail the ruin of Jerusalem, naturally bring down the apocalyptic discourses in the Third Gospel as low as 90 or 95. Otherwise, a date between 70 and 80 would allow for the various attempts at a narrative to which the Preface refers. And St. John who wrote nothing till extreme old age, says Eusebius, ends the first century with his Spiritual Gospel.¹

Dogmatic Certitudes.—If we hold a position on these lines, as St. Augustine did more or less, difficulties will by no means be cleared away, but we shall keep the ancient order, and we need not trouble about “sources of sources” to be extracted by critical discernment from the Synoptics before us. The only Gospels stamped with approval by the Church are those in our actual New Testament. If others afforded them materials, we cannot now distinguish the originals from the accretions, neither is it incumbent on us to do so. What we possess and acknowledge is an inspired set of documents, known as such at the earliest period when a collection was made. For all religious demands, it is enough; otherwise Providence would have left in the apostolic succession lights whereby to trace out the relations of our Evangelists to one another and to the

¹Vigouroux-Bacuez, iii. 136-90; common views, Batiffol, *Six Leçons sur les Evang.*, 43, 51, 61. Blass against Harnack, *Acta Apost.*

oral preaching which they embody. The "synoptic problem" is one, not of faith, but of scholarship.

It may be outlined thus:—

The Synoptic Problem.—Our Lord and His Apostles taught in Aramaic. But Jews of the Dispersion spoke and read the "Common Dialect," or Hellenistic Greek, as the LXX. proves. Greek was familiar to the foreign synagogues in Jerusalem; St. Stephen argued in it, and it was St. Paul's mother-tongue. Thus we have the curious combination of Hebrew thoughts with Greek words of which the LXX. and the New Testament offer examples. To this more liberal training the Pharisees were opposed at all times. Now Christians, as we learn from the Acts (vi. 1, 9), inherited the double tendency which from of old had led to differences in religion; and, glancing forward, we may say that the exaggeration of the Hebrew brought out the Ebionite, while the Hellenist was not unlikely if he followed his own devices to end as a Gnostic. Our First Gospel looks in one direction, our Fourth in quite another. The general movement is from Old Testament prophecy to New Testament theology. Again, St. Luke is a Hellenist in scope, diction, and spirit; St. Matthew, addressing Jews who know the Scriptures, argues like a Rabbi from minute verbal coincidences, but records the scathing language in which Jesus condemns Scribes and Pharisees, thereby indicating a stage of controversy when the influence wielded by Jerusalem had not yet fallen extinct. The First Gospel is not Ebionite, for it affirms that Jesus alone knows the Father and can reveal Him—in other words, is truly the Logos (xi. 27). But except in brief passages it does not come near the Johannine expressions. Though certainly never Ebionite, St. Matthew is Jewish in tone and temper. St. Mark, who betrays no tendency of this kind, never quotes the Prophets or Old Testament and stands outside the sphere of Hellenistic as of Hebraic solicitude; he is content to show that Jesus is the Christ by His

divine works. To fix our memory of these characters, we may imagine with ancient notices that St. Matthew wrote for his brethren in Antioch; St. Mark in Rome; St. Luke in Achaia or Macedonia, to which latter province he belonged, although another theory supposes him to be a native of Antioch. Yet here the problem comes at once into view. For these Evangelists, so unlike in their aim, so divided by circumstances, ought to be independent. But they have left us three several narratives which agree in the main lines and are constantly identical in their wording, while not reducible within any frame-work which would hinder variations in that agreement and peculiarities special to each.

A Prevalent Theory.—Perhaps we had better state the conclusions at which eminent writers, Catholics among them, have arrived. Allowing for points on which unanimity is not to be expected, it is a widespread opinion: (1) that our synoptics *in their present form* were composed between 65 and 85 A.D.; (2) that Mark is the quasi-original text on which Mt. and Lk. proceeded to work out their own narrations; (3) that Mt. preceded Lk. by some years; (4) that the writer of the Third Gospel, who has many affinities with the First, altogether independent of Mark, nevertheless did not borrow them from our Matthew as we now have it; (5) that all this implies the existence of a more primitive Gospel in writing, which was a collection of our Lord's "oracles" (Logia) composed in Aramaean by the Apostle St. Matthew, known at least by hearsay to Papias, and adapted to Judaizing Christians in our actual First Gospel, to Roman Christians in our Second, to Hellenists of the type anticipated by St. Stephen and realised by St. Paul, in our Third.¹

Aramaic Matthew Earliest.—Observe that on any view St. Matthew comes before the other Evangelists in his Aramaean original. The Greek recension called

¹ Batiffol, *Six Leçons*; Bonaccorsi, *Tre Primi Vangeli*; arguments against primitive Mk. in Vigouroux-Bacuez, *M. B.*, iii. 156.

by his name may be later as an adaptation; but he is present in it everywhere and is its virtual author. St. Jerome found among the Nazarenes at Berœa (Aleppo) a Gospel according to the Hebrews, which he translated into Greek and Latin. It is lost, except for the quotations which he has made from it in his works. The great scholar was inclined to look upon it as St. Matthew's genuine text; but he did not feel confident, and latter-day critics have decided in the negative.¹ Portions were also discovered (1887) in Egypt of the so-called Gospel according to St. Peter. It is Docetic in tendency, spurious beyond a doubt, and one of many which were circulated after 100 A.D.²

Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Ephesus.—Speaking broadly, in St. Luke we possess a narrative framed on Greek (*i.e.* cultivated Hellenistic) models; St. Mark tells us the incidents, especially the works of power, in our Lord's preaching; St. Matthew gives the divine Logia, and these again we read in St. Luke. The tradition of Mark is essentially Petrine; but so too are many things in the First Gospel, derived from the group which surrounded the Prince of the Apostles in Jerusalem or followed him to Antioch. Corresponding with four stages of Christian development, we note four historical centres—Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Ephesus—to which we may assign our four Evangelists. But the currents, as we see from previous indications, do not flow in separate channels. They all start from the same fountain-head, a catechetical teaching thrown speedily into the shape of Logia, represented by double and treble recensions, open to treatment for purposes of edification, yet sufficiently controlled by the Church to prevent pseudo-Gospels from winning public accept-

¹ Jerome, *Adv. Pelag.*, 3.

² Rose, *Studies on the Gospels*, 19-40, Eng. Tr. Père Rose criticises with just severity (p. 31 *seq.*) Harnack's fanciful view of the Gospel according to the Egyptians. On this and other apocryphal Gospels, see *E. Bi.* 258-59.

ance. Of this we have continual proof at every period. It was not from books, however sacred, that Papias learned his religion, but from the Elders who told him what had been said by "Philip, Thomas, James, John, and other disciples of the Lord". And Irenæus repeats the same argument, "The truth was not given by letters but by the living voice"; and "How if the Apostles had left us no Scriptures?" and again, "To which ordinance many Barbarian nations assent, who believe in Christ, having salvation written in their hearts, without paper and ink, by the Holy Spirit".¹

Identities and Differences.—If we reckon one hundred and fifty sections in our Synoptics, ninety-seven would be common in various degrees, fifty-three special. No fewer than sixty-five are found in all three. Mt. and Mk. have fifteen more between them; Mt. and Lk. twelve; Mk. and Lk. five. Of the particular sections thirty-seven belong to Lk., fourteen to Mt., two to Mk. The "synopsis" itself goes from our Lord's baptism by John to the Passion. Outside it we find the genealogies, the story of Christ's incarnation and birth, different parables and discourses, and the incidents which followed on the Resurrection. To explain these points in detail is the task of a commentary.²

¹ Euseb. *H. E.*, iii. 39; Iren., iii. 4.

² Loisy, *Evang. Synopt.* (1908) extreme views; Ermoni in *Rev. Bibl.*, 1897, pp. 83, 254; Batiffol, *Six Leçons*; Bonaccorsi, *Tre Vangeli*, who gives particulars of synopsis, after Reuss and Westcott, 8-19, and adopts a solution not unlike that of J. Weiss, 164-66.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND ST. JOHN.

Voices of Tradition.—By all Christian schools, except an obscure early group of heretics called the Alogi, our Fourth Gospel with its three appendages and the Apocalypse was held to be the writing of “St. John the Divine” (*i.e.* the Theologian). This St. John was identified with the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, chosen like Peter and James for an intimate companion by the Lord Jesus. The Book of Revelation purports to have come from the pen of a certain John who suffered for the “word of God,” and was in the isle of Patmos when he received his prophetic message (i. 9). This allusion (coupled with a story in Tertullian of the Apostle’s escape from death in Rome) led commentators to date the volume about 95 A.D. under a persecution which Domitian had begun, “a sample of Nero in his cruelty,” says the African apologist. In the Canon, from at least 150, the Gospel of St. John had its place assured, witness Tatian’s Diatessaron, Irenæus, the Muratorian Fragment, the Syriac New Testament. It was never afterwards called in question. Eusebius considers its Apostolic authority as a matter of course. Twelve centuries later, the Council of Trent reckons the four Gospels “according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,” and canonises the “Apocalypse of John the Apostle”. But when the Higher Criticism took these matters in hand, its judgments were various and conflicting.

What the Gospel Implies.—Our Evangelists do not reveal their own names. But the Apocalypse is signed

by its writer, "who hath given testimony of Jesus Christ what things soever he hath seen" (i. 2), a remarkable expression which we meet once more in the Fourth Gospel. There we read of "the disciple whom Jesus loved". He is one of the Twelve, and yet in the whole book his name does not occur. Lists in other Gospels affirm that John was a member of the sacred college (Mt. x. 2 ; Mk. iii. 17 ; Lk. vi. 14) ; but here he is not mentioned, an act of reticence which speaks for itself (xxi. 2). Again we read, "He that saw it hath given testimony, and his testimony is true". This Gospel is noted for its frequent repetition of phrases, which seems characteristic of old age ; accordingly in the last chapter, which reads like an appendix, the declaration meets us a second or third time, "This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things and hath written these things, and we know that his testimony is true". Putting all such statements together, it would be an evasion if we said that the Fourth Gospel does not claim St. John the Apostle as its author. An Eastern, not a Western author, doubtless ; but the beloved disciple, one of the Twelve, an eye-witness of the Passion, last survivor from the Apostolic College.¹

Papias and Polycarp.—In Eusebius we learn that Papias "made use of testimonies from the First Epistle of John". And Polycarp writes to the Philippians, "Whosoever doth not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist". The quotation tells us its origin (1 Jn. iv. 2-4) ; Polycarp goes on, "Whosoever confesseth not the witness of the cross, is from the devil. And whosoever doth tamper with the oracles (*logia*) of the Lord, after his own desires, and affirms neither resurrection nor judgment, he is the first-born of Satan."² This highly significant passage, directed against a form of Docetism which made Christ another than Jesus, and denied His Incarnation with all its

¹ Jn. vi. 67 ; xiii. 23 ; xix. 26-35 ; xx. 2, 24 ; xxi. 7, 20, 24.

² Polycarp to Philippians, 7 ; Lightfoot, *Ignat.*, iii. *in loc.*

consequences, takes us back to the witness of "water and blood" in St. John's Gospel (xix. 34, 35) and the teaching founded on it in the Epistle (1 Jn. v. 6, 8). The strong words, "from the devil" and "the first-born of Satan," echo St. John viii. 44, and remind us of Apoc. ii., iii. (the "synagogue," and "depths" of Satan), as well as of Polycarp's own rebuke to Marcion in Rome. Irenæus relates, as we saw above, that Polycarp knew St. John and was taught by him concerning "the word of life". But, anyhow, we can judge for ourselves that the Bishop of Smyrna, who was old enough to have been ordained by the Apostle,—and so the story went,—deals with these Scriptures exactly as we should do; in his eyes they are inspired. Now the Johannine Epistles form an homogeneous group; and the First begins with a solemn appeal against the fancies of Docetism, uttered by a witness who had been familiar with our Lord, "That which we beheld and our hands handled concerning the word of life . . . declare we unto you" (i. 1-3; compare Luke xxiv. 39 after the Resurrection). Such statements could be made only by one of the first disciples, and who among them survived when the Letter was written? Certainly John the son of Zebedee; but we are acquainted with no other.

Occasion of First Epistle of John—Cerinthus.—

Furthermore: readers without a theory will perceive in the Epistles and the Fourth Gospel resemblances so marked as to suggest their kinship; sixteen verbal references are pointed out in the Latin Bible, and the likeness of tone and drift cannot be overlooked. There is an undoubted resemblance between the opening section of the Gospel and the first chapter of the Epistle. All this teaching strikes at a heresy which was prelude of Valentinus, yet more or less Judaic. The Vulgate reading of 1 Jn. iv. 3 gives us its keynote, "Every spirit which dissolveth Jesus is not of God". Again, "Many deceivers are gone forth . . . even they that confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh" (2

Jn. 7), to which Oriental delusion the writer opposes his testimony, "This is he that cometh by water and blood, even Jesus Christ" (1 Jn. v. 6), with its consoling implication, "Every one that believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is begotten of God" (compare Jn. i. 12, 13; iii. 3, 5, 6). Once more, we have been told by Irenæus that St. John had a public altercation with Cerinthus, who held one form of Docetism, and that the Apostle intended his Gospel partly as an answer to him.¹ Cerinthus, if we may trust Epiphanius, was by birth a Jew, but he lived and taught in Asia Minor, perhaps even at Ephesus, the abode of St. John from the fall of Jerusalem till his decease under Trajan (after 98 A.D.). The language of our Johannine documents may be applied without much straining, to this aberration, which mingled Judaic and Gnostic elements confusedly. It would seem, therefore, to be made out that St. John's Gospel and Epistles stand or fall together; that he who wrote them claimed to be an Apostle of our Lord; that he lived in the same neighbourhood with the son of Zebedee and at the same time; that between his phraseology and certain portions of the Apocalypse a likeness may be discerned; that Polycarp, who carried on the orthodox tradition he had imbibed from St. John himself, or from his immediate companions, regarded the Epistle 1 Jn. as Holy Scripture; that Papias did so too; and that hence the Gospel is genuine no less than canonical. Whether we judge the three Letters to be imitated from the Gospel, or the First be an introduction written along with it, or by another hand, these conclusions remain.

Early Docetism.—From the phenomena of Docetism no difficulty arises, but rather a confirmation. That false doctrine (which, however, proves that the Divinity of Christ was accepted from the earliest epoch) showed its tendencies during the life of St. Paul, who writes

¹ Cf. Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 28.

to the Colossians against a Jewish version of it. It occupied the dying thoughts of the Martyr Ignatius. Some lines of it are discoverable in the *Great Manifestation* attributed to Simon Magus, a work of the closing first century. The Apostle, who seemed to be living on as if to meet the Second Advent, might well term it an Antichrist and recount the history of our Lord which combined in one the glory of the Only Begotten and the witness of the cross. But he does not anticipate forms in his time not yet arisen. "No traces can as yet be found in the Fourth Gospel," says Dr. E. A. Abbott, "of the great and elaborated systems such as were developed by Valentinus and others after 140 A.D." Thus our Gospel agrees with the Ignatian Epistles in combating a rudimentary apparition (not perhaps in both cases the same) of this all-pervading heresy, then in its middle stage between 100 and 110. Why should we disturb a tradition so intelligible and so consistent with itself? "That the Gospel was not written later than *circa* 110," says Harnack, "is an assured historical truth." And he assigns to 115 the Epistle of Polycarp quoted above.¹

Justin Martyr—Heracleon—Theodotus.—Assuming this position of the German scholar, we cannot suppose that Justin Martyr who has three quotations, including the terms "First-born of God" and "the Logos," which point to St. John, did not receive the book itself. If he "could not help accepting that much of the Johannine doctrine" in the year 150, is it credible that he would have quarrelled with Johannine language, yet employ the terms just quoted? As unmistakable is the reference in 1 Apol., 61 to Jn. iii. 3, about baptism. Justin, however, had to bear in mind the perversions of Valentinus, which his disciples would be sure to imitate. For they exploited St. John's teaching to "show forth their system of conjugations," as Irenæus remarks.

¹ Lightfoot, *Colossians*; *Ignat.*, i, 381, 440.

Among them Heracleon afterwards held a distinguished place, and Origen has preserved some portions of his commentary on the Fourth Gospel; while another, Theodotus, in Clement Alex., quotes St. John twenty-six times. This general state of things will account for Justin's method in arguing with Trypho the Jew. It is not pretended that the Christian apologist had never heard of our Gospel. His follower Tatian certainly quotes it in his Apology, "This is what that saying means, 'the darkness doth not comprehend the light,' and again, 'All things are by Him, and without Him hath not been made anything,'" which he applies to the Father. In the same treatise Tatian refers to 1 Jn. iv. 1-6. The Diatessaron combines all four Gospels into one mosaic (180 A.D.).¹

In Muratorian Canon.—Universal recognition of these writings and their single author, as henceforth to be held in all Churches, is denoted by the Muratorian Canon. "The fourth of the Gospels," it says, "is by John one of the disciples; being urged by his fellow-disciples and bishops, he said, 'Fast with me this day and for three days; and whatsoever shall have been revealed to each one of us, let us relate it to the rest'. In the same night it was revealed to the Apostle Andrew that John should write the whole in his own name, and that all the rest should revise it." We may allow for something legendary in this account. But Tatian has a remark which seems altogether applicable; he speaks of "those most divine interpretations which, in course of time having been published in writing, made believers in them acceptable to God". What should we infer but that St. John had for years previously taught by word of mouth a doctrine, or comment, on the life of his Master which at length he was persuaded to set down in a treatise, revised (*i.e.* edited) by his disciples? When we turn

¹ *E. Bi.*, "Gospels," 1831, note 5; Tatian, *Apol.*, 19, 12; Clem. Alex., *Fragm.*, secs. 1-22, etc.

to our Gospel with its twofold conclusion, its indirect mention of the author, its witness in the singular, and witness again to that in the plural, we seem to have the very work before us which is described by Tatian and the Fragment. When, moreover, Jewish sectaries like the Naaseni (Ophites), who preceded the Greek Gnostics, refer to our Lord as "the true gate," and have a version of the dialogue with the Samaritan woman, as well as of the conversation with Nicodemus, it follows that the Gospel, in some form, was extant between 100 and 125. To this latter year Basilides, who called himself a disciple of the Apostles, may be assigned; and he quotes exactly as in our text, "That was the true light which lighteth every man coming into the world,"—which observe, is no logion of Christ but a declaration made by the writer of the prologue to St. John.¹

Apocalypse by Whom?—It cannot, then, be doubted that soon after the second century opened, our Gospel and 1 Epistle were in existence. And reading them in their obvious meaning, John the Apostle was their author. On the other hand, John the "servant of Jesus" and an exile in Patmos wrote the "seven epistles" which form chapters ii.-iii. of the Apocalypse, if not the whole book. Our New Testament Canon affirms that this John was the Apostle, and so Justin M. already quoted, who according to St. Jerome commented on the prophecy. Melito of Sardis, one of the seven Churches addressed, held it to be St. John's and also expounded it. The witness of Irenæus, emphatic and repeated, is well known, for he deduced from this writing of the Evangelist a Millenarian doctrine which was fiercely attacked in Greek Christendom. Those Churches, as St. Jerome tells us, would not acknowledge the Revelation of John, and their ground

¹ Vigouroux-Bacuez, iii. 168-90; "John" in Hastings, *D. B.*; *E. Bi.*, 1838; Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*; Lightfoot, *Essays on Supern. Relig.*; Sanday, *Fourth Gospel*.

was by no means critical; they detested the notion of an earthly Millennium which it seemed to inculcate. Hence Eusebius, distinguishing John the Elder from the Evangelist, would gladly assign to the Presbyter a volume of which he disapproves (iii. 24; vii. 25). But moderns of almost every school agree with Justin, Melito, Irenæus and the rest, in tracing the great Prophecy to the son of Zebedee.

Objections to Unity of Authorship.—This identity of seer and evangelist with each other and with our Lord's Apostle has been denied, for reasons which in the main are literary or doctrinal, as plainly appears above in Eusebius. The proofs alleged by us in previous citations, forming two parallel series, cannot well be overthrown; but by taking them separately and putting on them any interpretation which may embarrass the Johannine sources of reference, an escape is sought from the chief conclusion, *viz.*, that our Fourth Gospel was written by one of the Twelve. To this end it is urged (1) that whoever composed the Apocalypse could not have left us the Gospel; and (2) that whoever set down the discourses of Christ in the Gospel could not have known Him personally, had never lived in Palestine, and draws a picture of the Saviour which our Synoptics would have been unable to recognise. So that on both sides the authorship of St. John is attacked; the Book of Revelation, it is said, betrays thought and style as Hebrew as can be imagined, intensely Jewish and patriotic, with a passionate reverence for the Temple, a hatred of those who would abolish the Law, and even of St. Paul's disciples. Hence it is the work of an Ebionite. But the Fourth Gospel comes to us from a Greek, nay, an artist, who wrote his language with a certain purity, was quite estranged from Jews and Judaism, went beyond St. Paul in his conviction that Law and Temple had seen their day, and substituted for the tradition of Jerusalem a spiritual theosophy in which national differences were swallowed up. And

this Greek, of course not being a familiar friend of Jesus, invented for the vehicle of his teaching miracles and conversations in which it is impossible to discover any likeness of the parables and the Logia (certainly genuine utterances of Christ) bequeathed to us in the other Gospels. His whole composition is, after the manner of Philo, a symbolic clothing of ideas in arguments and incidents, none of which can fairly be deemed historical. No sayings of Jesus recorded only in this Gospel are authentic, no miracles in it are founded on fact.¹

Some Answers to Difficulties.—Candid upholders of the ancient view feel that some things urged against it are weighty, and endeavour to explain them rather than to deny their truth altogether. Even in the briefest outline it would be impossible to give the discussion here. We may say, however, that to believe the Apocalypse written in 95 A.D. and the Fourth Gospel ten years afterwards by the same hand, is a position of extreme difficulty. Should the Book of Revelation be broken into various distinct prophecies, of which the central one goes back to 68, we can imagine St. John editing these in a volume to which his seven admonitions of the Churches might form a preface. Or if he was himself writing before the fall of Jerusalem, his language and attitude might well be unlike the position of his mind thirty years later, when nothing was left of the Temple but a memory, and Judaism had nearly passed out of the Christian horizon. "The Apocalypse," says Dr. Abbott, "was a valued book in the circles in which the author of the Gospel moved, and he arose in that environment and atmosphere." Citations and cross-references justify these conclusions. There was a common source, whatever its extent, of both writings. Yet again, it is an exaggeration to insist on the pure articulated Greek of the Gospel. Certainly it comes

¹ Abbott, "John's Gosp." in *E. Bi.*, cf. Loisy, *Comment. sur le IV. Evang.*

nearer to a good style than the Revelation, which may be translated into Hebrew without essential change of structure and sounds in many places almost barbaric to the ear of Hellas. But neither can we fail to observe in the Gospel how scanty are the conjunctions, how short and abrupt the sentences, how monotonous the sequence, and how frequent the parallelism of clauses. There is an improvement in the writing when compared with the Apocalypse which does not take away its association with Hebrew forms. If we assume that St. John gave the substance which his Hellenistic secretary put into shape, the problem would be greatly lightened. What is there to forbid that supposition? So much, then, as regards the Apocalypse and its relation to the other group of Johannine documents.¹

Contrast between Fourth and Other Gospels.—

Now the much more serious question confronts us: How comes there to be so little analogy, so striking a contrast, between this Gospeller and his predecessors? "On few subjects," it has been said, "have scholars shown more unanimity than in holding that he was at least acquainted with the Synoptic Gospels." Even if he did not know them in their latest form, it is, then, unlikely that he proceeded in ignorance of them. Nor will any serious thinker charge him with rejecting their account of his Master. He supplements them, as critics declare who call our attention to his love of minute detail; but he is far from taking a subordinate place as teacher; and his narrative wears an undoubted air of mysticism in setting and in choice of material. His aim, we cannot refuse to believe, was polemic, nay, in a very high degree dogmatic; he therefore wraps up doctrine in history, using his facts with freedom. Hence a certain method of transposition, by which he turns the Synoptic parables into similitudes, exhibits a word as in action, and supposing his readers to be familiar with institutions like Baptism and the Eucharist, gives

¹ Batiffol, *Six Leçons*, 102-17.

to them a spiritual meaning in the discourses of Christ. Such a procedure does not imply that speeches and incidents were all invented for a purpose. Many of the sayings attributed to our Lord bear on them a stamp of authenticity as convincing as those in St. Matthew. But they are expanded, or commented upon, with a view to edification; their drift is pointed against errors which the Divine Teacher by His life and passion had condemned; nor have we an assurance where the actual words of Christ break off, and where they glide into the exposition of him who narrates them.¹

Truth of the History in John.—We must accordingly distinguish the substance and spirit from the syntax; and the phrase, or even (if criticism really demands it) the occasion, from the message itself in this document. From first to last it assumes that believers know what the earthly life of their Redeemer was and see Him abiding with them in His sacrifice and sacraments. It cannot be allowed that the miracles recorded never took place; or that Nathaniel, Nicodemus, Lazarus, are mythical figures; or that Mary the Mother of Jesus falls into a mere symbol of the Jewish Church; or that St. John did not see the things which he declares that he did see. "Retrospective intuitions" we may grant, provided that in the words and works of Jesus their significance was present; we cannot grant an allegory without foundation. Again, we are sure of the twofold element which comes out clearly in our Lord's teaching as the Synoptics report of Him; His parables to the multitude, His interpretation of their hidden meaning among the favoured disciples. He was at once "the Son of Man" and the Messiah, who alone knew the Father and could reveal Him to His chosen. These two very different aspects of Jesus require each a corresponding language, a range of ideas not on the same level. When we discount, so to call it, the literary

¹ Hastings, *D. B.*, "John" and "Gospel of John," admirable studies of the whole subject.

method employed by St. John's disciples who took down their master's discourses (Muratorian Frag.) and fix our minds on the ideas or themes (the Logia) from which as a starting-point they are developed, we find ourselves in touch with the earlier Gospels. Not only passages like Matt. xi. 25-30, but others of which xv. 13 is a striking instance, prepare us for the decisive self-assertions in the Fourth Gospel which have given scandal to non-believers. We conclude that our Lord spoke according to the Synoptics; but that His thought has been set in high relief by St. John. Such was the verdict of those many primitive writers who looked up to this teaching as the spiritual Gospel, and who saw in it not the rejection, but the valid rendering for all time of Christ's miracles and parables, as well as the witness to His Godhead borne by a death that crowned a life beyond compare. This whole economy, they held with St. Irenæus, was perpetuated in the Church,—in that new Jerusalem and tabernacle of God with men which the seer of the Apocalypse had proclaimed.

Decisions and Inferences.—On May 29, 1907, the Roman Commission declared that St. John the Apostle was the author of this Gospel, as proved from history and internal arguments; that a reasonable answer to difficulties arising from its collation with the Synoptics may be found in the Fathers and Catholic commentators; that its narratives were not invented, wholly or in part, to serve as allegories or doctrinal symbols; and that Our Lord's discourses are not simply theological compositions put upon His lips, but truly and properly His own.¹

¹ Batiffol, *Six Leçons*, 118-30; Calmes, *Evang. St. Jean*; Lepin, *Jésus Messie*; P. Rose, *Etudes sur les Evangiles*, Eng. Tr.

CHAPTER IX.

ACTS, EPISTLES, APOCALYPSE.

Gospels = Pentateuch ; Epistles = Prophets.—As by position and authority the Gospels do, in a measure, correspond to the Pentateuch, we may consider the Apostolic writings which follow them to be the analogue of Old Testament prophecy. With much fitness these are introduced by one of the most beautiful and edifying works that inspiration has bestowed on us, the Acts of the Apostles. Now, “the similarity of language, style and idea,” says Prof. Schmiedel, “constantly leads back to this conclusion,” *viz.*, that whoever wrote the Third Gospel also composed the Acts. But, as we have seen, the Fourth Gospel, which is not later than 110 A.D., implies that our Synoptics were in existence already. It is not, therefore, admissible to bring down the Acts with some modern schools, German or Dutch, as low as the year 140. We may confidently hold the view which Irenæus draws out at length in his Third Book. “This Luke,” he declares, “was inseparable from Paul and his fellow-worker in the Gospel, as Luke himself makes manifest” ; for “when he had been present at all these things, he wrote them diligently” ; and “he bears witness” to the tradition, “according as they have delivered to us who from the beginning were spectators and ministers of the word”. So that “if any man refuses Luke, he will be evidently casting aside the Gospel”. It was Marcion, against whom Irenæus is arguing in this place, who would not accept our Third Gospel whole and entire. But he and Valentinus made

use of it; from which we can infer that the Acts also had long been known and were a part of Christian sacred literature. St. Polycarp has more than one allusion to Acts; Justin M. (137 or 152) has marked references. But the volume is, in a general manner, dated by the early stage of hierarchical development, long anterior to Ignatius, when the college of "presbyters" yet holds the foreground, as in St. Paul's farewell speech to the Ephesians (Acts xx. 17).¹

Place and Date of Acts.—The place of composition is judged to be Rome; tradition says on the site of S. Maria in Via Lata; the history takes up about thirty years; it breaks off designedly before St. Paul's martyrdom (in order not to offend the Roman authorities, as critics conjecture), and the writing is subsequent to the Third Gospel, "the former treatise". A period after 70 is indicated. Such moderns as perceive in the Acts an acquaintance with Josephus, would place them in the first thirty years of the second century; but their arguments are not convincing, although reference to Theudas (v. 36) seems to make for it.² To suppose, on the other hand, that our book was in existence before St. Paul suffered (though St. Jerome thought so), would throw back the Gospel of St. Luke too early and seems improbable. Finally, it has been well said that the Acts are "in all the Canons from that of Muratori to the Council of Trent," being ever ascribed to "the beloved physician" of Colossians iv. 14. The text is inadequately represented in the Old Latin, and is wanting in the Syriac.

Arguments for Late Origin.—In Tertullian's expression St. Paul was the "illuminator Lucæ"; the Third Gospel is Pauline, whether we regard its drift, which had in view Hellenic Christians; or its ideas of justification, conversion, universal redemption; or its

¹ Iren., iii. xiv. 1; Polycarp, 1-3; Tertull., *Adv. Marcion*, v. 2; Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 18; iii. 4; iv. 27.

² Solutions offered in Vigouroux, *M. B.*, iv. 39.

language derived from the Apostle and reminiscent of the LXX. In like manner the Acts. No doubt can be entertained that the "we" sections (xvi. 10-17; xx. 5-15; xxi. 1-18; xxvii. 1-xxviii. 16) are from an eye-witness and companion of St. Paul. Neither is it reasonable to question what antiquity affirmed, that this journal and the rest of the Acts come from the hand of St. Luke the Evangelist. Objections are put forward on several grounds, but mainly (1) because the doctrine attributed to the Apostle, for instance at Athens (xvii. 22-32), does not tally with his anti-Greek denunciations of philosophy elsewhere (1 Cor. i. 20-iii. 21); and (2) on account of historical discrepancies in the matter of St. Paul's conversion (Acts ix. 7 compared with xxii. 9) and as touching the disputes about the law (Acts xv. compared with Galatians ii.). The old school of Tübingen, therefore, described our author (an unknown Christian of the post-Apostolic period) as intending to reconcile the Ebionite Peter and James with Paul their enemy by means of legends, invented or highly coloured, which held the balance between Hebrew and Hellene. That view is no longer prevalent. It had one merit, as insisting that Gospel and Acts were written with a purpose. But the differences which we remark on turning from Galatians (the earlier piece and unquestionably authentic) to the story as told in Acts, are not imaginary, whatever be their explanation.

Reconciliation of Passages in St. Luke and St. Paul.—As it is the same writer who gives both narratives of St. Paul's conversion in chapters ix. and xxii., we can hardly suppose him to be contradicting himself; and a little care in reading will put us on our guard against the thought of it. The Apostle, moreover, while denouncing heathen philosophy when it opposes to the Gospel maxims of unbelief, is consistent on the Hill of Mars with his own principles in Romans i. 19-22, where he maintains that the Gentiles knew God by the light

of reason. This double-edged method has always been employed in Catholic demonstrations; and why should it not be? Corrupt reason is one thing; reason in itself and rightly employed is quite another.

The last point is more difficult. That dissensions of a very grave character arose between St. Paul and the immediate followers of SS. Peter and James, we know to be a fact. It seems equally certain that the Epistle of St. James took its occasion from the Pauline description of faith and reviews the matter in a very different aspect. The Apostle of the Gentiles is our warrant for his sharp contest with St. Peter at Antioch. But the impression conveyed by Acts, if it stood alone, would seem to be unlike what is narrated elsewhere. To which things this may serve as an answer. The veracity of St. Luke is unimpeached and unimpeachable. If we do not charge him with devising the story of Cornelius (chapter x.),—and no critic we need take into account has ventured so far,—it is plain that St. Peter held and acted on the principle of admitting Gentiles to baptism, while he did not compel them to observe Jewish rites and customs. He was, therefore, at one with St. Paul in the general view, which carried with it emancipation from Mosaic observances. But the Prince of the Apostles kept in sight his obligations towards converted Israelites; St. Paul, on the contrary, had most at heart the freedom which his Gentile communities demanded. There was room here for discussion and need of give and take. In the Epistles we see things at the stage of difference, which neither could nor did prove lasting. History teaches that St. Paul triumphed. As we are not justified in rejecting the episode of Cornelius on any solid motive; and as it is certain that the Christians of SS. Peter and James did, in the event, accept an arrangement like that which St. Luke describes, or lapsed outright into the Ebionite heresy; we must believe in some practical compromise, approved by the College at Jerusalem. The Acts in-

form us that it was drawn up after "there had been much questioning," and how it came to pass (xv. 7 *seq.*). The disputes which preceded are left in the shade; but when this volume appeared, who will fancy that St. Paul's Epistles were not known to the Romans addressed in it, or not accessible to them? It is, of course, fair to remark on the gentle, uncontentious manner in which St. Luke presents his narrative; he writes as a peacemaker, and, if on the verge of St. Clement's pontificate, to a people who already venerated the twin-Apostles as founders of the Church in Rome. Had St. Peter and St. Paul not been reconciled in practice as they were at one in principle, the Christianity which flourished under Clement could never have survived. That they were reconciled, the Epistle to the Galatians assures us.¹

St. Luke First Christian Apologist. — Another observation is to the point. St. Luke writes for a believing audience, represented by Theophilus, to instruct them in their Creed; not therefore a history alone but a Christian apology; and this defines his attitude. From the associates of the Twelve, of the seven Deacons (especially St. Stephen), of St. Paul in the days before the Evangelist knew him, details were gathered in; the sources may have been sometimes called the "Acts of Peter" and the "Acts of Paul". But the handling is not simply objective. Lessons are driven home, explanations added, speeches designed somewhat after the style of Thucydides.² We need not read them as if taken down in shorthand; they give us a true but an artistic rendering of what was said. The admirable unity of presentation shows us that all the subject-matter has been moulded into one exquisite form. And it is the Catholic Church, as history brings

¹ Gal. ii. 9, 10; Clem. Rom., *Ad Cor.*, v. vi.

² Thucyd., i. 22, "According to my notion of what was fitting for the persons to have spoken, while I adhered to the general sense actually delivered".

it to light, from now onward to the end of the second century, that reveals its features in the Acts of the Apostles. St. Luke is the first of Church historians. No function, therefore, could be more proper to his writing than the calm exposition of a faith by which many diverse tendencies are reconciled, the moral energy which Hebrew Law fostered with the elements of wisdom which Christian philosophy was destined to assimilate from the Greeks, and both with the sense of justice that made the glory of Rome.¹

Order of Pauline Writings.—This happy introduction brings us to the most original, as they are the most exacting, of New Testament volumes, the Epistles of St. Paul. But in our present stage we have chiefly to consider them as being a part of the Canon, about which point there is no controversy. The editors of the New Testament have set them, not in order of time, but according to their object: (1) those which address Churches, (2) those directed to individuals, (3) the disputed letter to the Hebrews—fourteen in all. Chronologically, the sequence favoured by Catholic divines is as follows:—

Six Epistles written in six years, during St. Paul's second and third journeys:—

1 Thessalonians, second journey, 52 A.D., from Corinth.

2 Thessalonians, same period and place.

1 Corinthians, third journey, 56 A.D., from Ephesus.

2 Corinthians, 57 A.D., from Philippi.

Galatians, 57 A.D., from Corinth.

Romans, 58 A.D., from Corinth.

Four Epistles towards the end of his first captivity, from Rome in 62 A.D.:—

Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon.

Three between first and second captivity:—

Hebrews, (?) 63 A.D., from Italy.

Titus, 64 A.D., from Macedonia.

¹ Hastings, *D. B.*, "Acts" by Headlam; best account of the subject, Vigouroux, *M. B.*, iv. 11, 13, 139-46, 168-74.

1 Timothy, same date and neighbourhood.

One during last captivity :—

2 Timothy, 66 A.D., (?) from Rome.

These dates are commonly accepted for the first group ; they admit of discussion as regards the second ; and are open to many difficulties when we come to the third.¹

In the ordinary reckoning St. Paul was converted 34 A.D., went up to Jerusalem as reported in Galatians in 37 ; arrived a prisoner in Rome during 59 or 60 ; and was martyred either in 64 or in 67. The latter, which is a traditional date derived from Eusebius, does not find favour in the eyes of modern authorities.

Fixed and Disputed Points.—Many as have been the attempts to reconstruct the New Testament on a scheme of internal criticism, St. Paul has, to a large extent, triumphed over them all. Four Epistles, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians, are allowed to be his by every one except certain speculative writers, "hypercritics," who find little echo. Three others, 1 and 2 Thessalonians and Philippians, are largely admitted. Ephesians and Colossians, though challenged by scholars of repute, seem to claim their Pauline rights on motives similar to those which authenticate Philippians. The touching Letter to Philemon has no marked dogmatic interest, though opportune as testimony to Ephes.-Coloss., and is so brief that its acknowledgment passes without trouble. Not so Hebrews, denied to be St. Paul's by the Roman Church from a period long antecedent to Jerome's mention of this fact. "The custom of the Latins," he says, "does not receive it among the Canonical Scriptures" ; their ground was its unknown authorship, not its teaching. The Pastoral Epistles, 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, forming a group of which Ernest Renan said, "They must be all three admitted or rejected," were cast aside by Marcion

¹ Vigouroux, *Man. Bibl.*, iv. 180.

² *H. E.*, ii. 22, 25 ; iii. 1 ; *E. Bi.*, "Chronologies," secs. 64-84.

(perhaps by Basilides) not, as St. Jerome observes, for reasons given, but "on heretical authority".¹ Reasons have been alleged in later times—unlikeness of style to the Apostle, anachronisms betraying their real date on a close inspection. But, besides the particular doubts just indicated, a recent effort has been made to prove in all the Epistles extensive editing and consequent interpolations. Much of this being very wild work, we need scarcely dwell upon it. The other points deserve such attention as our space will permit.

The Church always Received Thirteen Epistles.

—At the beginning we set down, in favour of the Thirteen Epistles, and not taking Hebrews into account, the unbroken conscious witness of the Church; for, as again Renan judges, by 127 A.D. the Pastoral Letters were received with St. Paul's; and Marcion's rough handling of the whole collection or positive rejection of some of the Letters does but strengthen this evidence. Moreover, that personal documents such as these, early read in Christian congregations and known as the *Apostolicon*, should be interpolated, is far less credible than that incidents or sayings due to oral tradition should ask a place in the margin of the Gospels and so be added to their text. There is a third consideration. Letters of all things are most liable to revision at the sender's hands; they admit of post-scripts, intercalated notes, and irregular correction; so that no inference prejudicial to their integrity can be drawn from such phenomena by themselves. And if ever a style of epistolary correspondence, free to the utmost in make and language existed, it is that of St. Paul.

Recent and Extreme Guess-work.—Those who will have it that all thirteen Epistles are pseudepigrapha (Van Manen and others), yet agree with Catholic writers on their unity of impression. "The group when

¹ Tertull., *Adv. Marcion*, i. 1, etc.; Jerome, *Præf. in Titum*,

compared with the Johannine Epistles, with James, Jude, Ignatius, Clement, with the Gospel of Matthew, or the martyrdom of Polycarp," says this last-named critic, "bears obvious marks . . . of having originated in one circle, at one time, in one environment." Now, if any facts of history or literature can be deemed certain, the Pauline authorship of Romans and Galatians belongs to that category. The Fathers and the heresiarchs, the School of Tübingen and the tradition of Rome, are unanimous in allowing it. To suppose that a forger could have invented these works of a unique description (and a set of forgers becomes yet more incredible), passing them off on the Apostolic Churches to which they were addressed, under the name of a St. Paul who wrote nothing like them, is an extravagance of the subjective method under which no history would survive.

It Strengthens the Ancient Position.—But in postulating the unity of the Letters that it may assign them to Gnostic innovators—Basilides, Marcion, Valentinus, Heracleon, or nameless forerunners and followers of the heretical movement in the second century,—this aberration does yeoman's service to orthodoxy. It proves that when external evidence has been wholly discarded, imagination will run riot; and that solid grounds exist for connecting in a series and giving to one single author the *Apostolicon* which Christians always received as from the Doctor Gentium. If we know aught of antiquity, it is that St. Paul's name was read on these Letters from the first. And if we may believe those who reject his name on them, all came from an identical source. The old view is, therefore, in possession, resting on external evidence for the name, on internal for the unity, which it has ever upheld. When to this we find it opposed that "so large an experience, so great a widening of the field of vision, so high a degree of spiritual power," cannot be "attributed to one man within so limited a time," we remark only how the same

so-called "Enlightenment," which was unable to admit Divine manifestations in the Old Scripture, goes on to deny the miracles of genius in the New. That St. Paul was a unique personality, dealing with religion as Alexander with empires or Shakespeare with literature, is inconceivable to this form of mental narrowness.

On the singular theory which we are here putting aside, a circle of heretics at Antioch, or perhaps "somewhere in Asia Minor," invented Pauline Christianity between 100-140; gave it the designation of an otherwise not very significant preacher who had joined the Early Church; and by means of these Letters, none being written in his time or by his dictation, succeeded in getting themselves a place among Catholic believers. Marcion had no small share in the enterprise. True "Epistles" they are not; they were never sent to the congregations or individuals whom they address; and it was the orthodox, not Marcion or his disciples, that falsified the "Pauline" text on behalf of their doctrine.¹

Judgment of Tertullian and Origen.—Tertullian's large treatise against Marcion embodies the universal judgment of Catholics in and before his own time. It recognises the Thirteen Epistles, and upbraids the heresiarch for rejecting the Pastoral Letters which he found already extant; it appeals to the Churches which had St. Paul's doctrine preserved to them by his writings, as a living voice,—Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, Rome. The Apologist does not so much as dream that another had taken St. Paul for a cloak of his later inventions. No writer of any ancient school ever hinted such a thing. The forgery, perfect in its amazing originality of tone and detail, would thus have left not a shadow of doubt from the beginning, since all alike accepted it. Yet, as Tertullian notes, there were alleged Pauline writings besides, but condemned as apocryphal. For the Eastern Church Origen is a

¹ *E. Bi.*, "Paul," secs. 38, 39, 42, 46.

witness; "the last of the Apostles," he terms St. Paul, "whose fourteen Letters have destroyed the foundations of idolatry and the proud edifice of human wisdom". The Muratorian Fragment implies a journey of the Apostle into Spain, recites the list as we have it now, except Hebrews, distinguishing seven Epistles to the Churches (two double, Corinthians and Thessalonians) and four to individuals, which, however, served for general edification. It condemns the Epistles to Laodicea and Alexandria then current as Marcionite fictions. The Syriac New Testament includes Hebrews among the Pauline group.

Evidence between 95 and 170 A.D.—Coming back to the West, we find everywhere in Irenæus the same unclouded belief which Christians have at this day in that collection; he rebukes those Gnostics who for their pernicious ends tamper with it, and quotes all the Letters except that to Philemon, time after time. How manifest is the testimony of heresiarchs from 125 to 170 we have repeatedly noticed, and how anxious they were to exploit sacred documents of a standing so well authorised. Eusebius, however, tells us that the Ebionites thought the Epistles of Paul should be rejected, and called him a renegade from the Law, whereby they owned the writings to be genuine. It is not wonderful, on that showing, if St. Ignatius, who had to combat these Judaizers, is full of references to the Epistles, or joins in one ascription SS. Peter and Paul. His disciple, Polycarp, writing to the Philippians, naturally commemorates the Letter (sing. or plur. meaning doubtful) which was their title to fame. When St. Clement of Rome is exhorting the Corinthians, he says to them, "Take into your hands the epistle of blessed Paul the Apostle. What did he at first write to you in the beginning of the Gospel? Verily, he did by the spirit admonish you concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos."¹ Here, now, we have reached the first cen-

¹ Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, 47.

ture, when St. John was living, and the witness comes from Rome and its bishop, where Gnostic influences could have had no access. To overthrow such evidence, the whole Christian remains between 95 and 140, saturated as they are with Pauline ideas or supporting them, must be flung away as baseless fabrications.¹

Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*.—"When we take into our hands," said Paley, speaking of these documents now under consideration, "the letters which the suffrage and consent of antiquity has thus transmitted to us, the first thing that strikes our attention is the air of reality and business, as well as of seriousness and conviction, which pervades the whole. Let the sceptic read them. If he be not sensible of these qualities in them, the argument can have no weight with him. If he be, if he perceive in almost every page the language of a mind actuated by real occasions, and operating upon real circumstances, I would wish it to be observed that the proof which arises from this perception is not to be deemed occult or imaginary, because it is incapable of being drawn out in words, or of being conveyed to the apprehension of the reader in any other way, than by sending him to the books themselves."²

These admirable observations, enforced as they can be whenever we choose by studying the Epistles, dispose altogether of the notion that a forger intent upon abstract religious themes, at a distance of sixty or seventy years from the period selected, could produce writings minute and accurate enough in their least obvious coincidences to survive the ordeal which our documents have undergone. "St. Paul's Epistles," to quote Paley a second time, "are connected with his history by their peculiarity, and by the numerous circumstances which are found in them." They challenge comparison with another volume, the Book of the Acts, to which they never allude, and the independence of

¹ References in *Man. Bibl.*, iv. 181-89; and see *infra*.

² *Hor. Paulin.*, 366, Howson's ed.

which is guaranteed by its approaching the same events from a point of view so different as to give rise to the difficulties mentioned above and others like them. But the Epistles are never found in the wrong. Yet their consistency is not, neither could it be, an effect of design, for it comes out by "hints, expressions and single words dropping as it were fortuitously from the pen of the writer"; it is known to us by subtle and circuitous references wholly beyond the skill of the most accomplished romancer, but impossible when two several unconnected compositions, the Acts and the Letters, are in question. This argument, which is positive in its details and cumulative in its force, no sceptic has ever directly assailed. It applies so triumphantly to the four chief Epistles that F. C. Baur and his followers did not venture to reject them.

And let it be remembered that Paley's reasoning does not simply trace the authorship of these Letters to one individual man; it proves likewise that St. Paul, and none but St. Paul, was the author. For, "whatever ascertains the original of one Epistle, in some measure establishes the authority of the rest"; and it is our extreme critics who grant that they arose in the same circle and have an inward unity. This will seem all the more remarkable, and a convincing token of their traditional source, inasmuch as "they form no continued story; they compose no regular correspondence; they comprise not the transactions of any particular period; they carry on no connection of argument; they depend not on one another; except in one or two instances they refer not to one another".¹

It thus happens, in the case of St. Paul, that internal evidence properly handled, may attain the high-water mark of credibility. And the fact that, notwithstanding such clear circumstantial proof, which is multiplied tenfold by the number of the Letters and their inde-

¹ Paley, *ut supra*, 15-17.

pendence of each other, his authorship has been called in question, should put us on our guard against critics whose want of the judging faculty is so manifestly shown.

The Epistles Severally—Romans.—Entering on a brief consideration of details, we may cite the words in 1866 of F. C. Baur, the founder of the Tübingen school: "Against these four Epistles (Rom., 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians) not only has the slightest suspicion of spuriousness never been raised, but they bear on their front the mark of Pauline originality in such a degree that it is impossible to imagine by what right any critical doubt could assert itself regarding them". To the same effect Schmiedel: "If the four Epistles are to stand or fall together, 1 Clem. Rom. would be proof enough of their genuineness".¹

The Epistle to the Romans (as we gather from xv. 23-26; xvi. 1, 3, 21, 23) was written at Corinth on the eve of St. Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, probably about Pentecost, 58 A.D.; and was sent by Phœbe, servant (*i.e.* deaconess) of the Church at Cenchrea. It has several distinct pauses or minor conclusions—xi. 36; xv. 33; and it travels down in a way which other writings of the Apostle exhibit, from the loftiest dogmatic teaching to matters of conduct and daily practice. Chapter xvi., with its abundant messages to persons in Rome, has created some objection; how should St. Paul have known these many, before he had paid the capital a visit? But the proposal to detach it from its place and join it, say, to Ephesians, has greater difficulties. In estimating a literature so fragmentary we should never forget our own ignorance. There will be particulars which we cannot explain, obscurities not to be cleared up without a knowledge of things irrecoverably lost. Among these are the first beginnings of the Roman Church, its character, to what extent Jewish or

¹ *E. Bi.*, "Paul," sec. 3; "Galat.," 6-9; "Epist. Lit.," 7-9.

Gentile (though St. Paul writes as to Hebrew Christians who need enlightenment about the New Law), and the time of St. Peter's advent in the city. Historians like Eusebius felt no trouble in dating that association as far back as 42; and Harnack has done much to rehabilitate the Eusebian chronology; but St. Paul declares his reluctance to build on any other man's foundation, and his silence tells unfavourably against the old opinion (Romans xv. 20; *cf.* Acts xix. 21). He would surely have sent greeting to the chief of the Apostles, or referred to him, so the argument runs, had St. Peter taught in Rome already. On the other hand, it is clear that a great and flourishing congregation, whose faith was everywhere celebrated, abode in the Jewish quarters under the Janiculum, when the Epistle was despatched. Six years later, an "immense multitude," according to Tacitus (*Annals*, xv. 44), suffered in the persecution of Nero. Catholic divines attribute St. Paul's omission to St. Peter's long and frequent absence from Rome on apostolic errands. However, all the claims of theology are met by the undoubted allusion in 1 Peter v. 13, "The Church that is in Babylon, elect, saluteth you". And various hypotheses might be imagined which would justify St. Paul in addressing to a community this doctrinal treatise wherein he claims no special power as over disciples, unlike his attitude towards the churches he had founded. The difference is admirably shown by Paley.¹

Not to insist on the passage 2 Peter iii. 15, 16, references are found, more or less distinct, to this Roman Letter in Clement's Epistle, in Polycarp, Justin M., Irenæus who quotes from it as many as fifty times, and in Tertullian who does so twice as often. It holds the first rank in Muratorian Canon. Theophilus of Antioch (180 A.D.) quotes xiii. 7 as a "divine word," *i.e.* Scripture. Basilides (125) and Marcion, who was

¹ *Hor. Paulin.*, 54-60; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchr. Lit.*, ii. 233-39, for Pauline chronology.

at Rome in 138, knew it "as an authoritative work of the Apostle". To contravene such testimonies nothing whatever is alleged except *a priori* theorising.¹ The best answer is simply to read the Epistle as a human document, and judge whether it could be wrought by the hand of a forger. If it implies a great and early development of Christianity in Rome, and if this may not be conceived without an Apostle's presence, then so much the more likely does St. Peter's Claudian journey thither become.

1 Corinthians.—The First of Corinthians was written from Ephesus, about Easter, 56, in reply to a Letter from the Church that St. Paul had set up in Corinth on a previous mission (1 Cor. xvi. 5, 8, 19; *cf.* also Acts xviii. 1-4, 18, 19, 24). We have given St. Clement's reference, when rebuking a later generation, as to the most public of documents, well known in Greece and Italy. Internal evidence makes it impossible to question the Pauline authorship unless by overthrowing all canons of probability. There never was any doubt of the Epistle before these last years, and even now such objections are not taken seriously. They may be safely neglected.

2 Corinthians.—The Second of Corinthians, written in Macedonia, sent, it would appear, from Philippi, belongs to 57 A.D. or thereabouts. It is a direct sequel of the First, full of individual traits, was always acknowledged, and raises no questions except regarding its integrity, which however stands firm against the over-precise rules of composition that St. Paul certainly did not observe. Three sections may be noted, i.-vii.; viii.-ix.; x.-xii. There is no need to suppose that another Epistle to the Corinthians has been lost.

Galatians.—To the Galatians the Apostle wrote, probably from Corinth in 57, that letter which among all he has left is the most personal and characteristic. "For the history of primitive Christianity Galatians is

¹ For instance, such as "Romans" by v. Manen, *E. Bi.*, secs. 6-19,

an historical source of the first order." In point of time it follows 1 and 2 Corinthians, and may be regarded as a sketch prelude of Romans, with which in language and manner of thought it shows numerous affinities. Its relation to Acts xv., and the problems raised thereby, have been noted previously. Ecclesiastical tradition always admitted the writing as St. Paul's, in spite of the grave differences among Christians and the incident at Antioch in which St. Peter was involved. Early heretics and later Rationalists have done the same; and, in truth, no ancient composition is better authenticated.

1 and 2 Thessalonians.—It will conduce to a more critical understanding if we place here 1 and 2 Thessalonians. The subscription, "written at Athens," is commonly disregarded. Corinth seems to be indicated, during the Apostle's first visit, by "Paul, Timothy and Silvanus" in the opening, for these three were never, it is said, together again. Dates have been fixed, varying from 48 to 53. Some judges assign Galatians to a still earlier period; but this view finds little favour, and Thessalonians are reckoned the beginning of St. Paul's correspondence. The external evidence is the same as for the whole *Apostolicon*. The internal, as concerns the First Epistle, is remarkably strong. Its revelation of the author's character, its familiar and personal tone, the absence of a doctrinal or polemic interest which would lead to forgery, the curious but only partial agreement with Acts xvii., completely warrant acceptance. And the Second follows naturally on the First, clearing up the converts' mistaken interpretation of what St. Paul had written about our Lord's Parousia. But so large is the verbal resemblance that a plagiary's hand, copying the First servilely, has been suspected. This objection, in a stronger form, recurs with Ephesians and Colossians. Did St. Paul repeat his own sentences in a manner so remarkable? Various expedients will meet the difficulty,

which belongs strictly to literature and can have no great historical importance. If 2 Thess. turned out to be a doublet of the First Epistle, no dogma would thereby lose or gain; but we are not required to take up that position. The supposed imminence of our Lord's second coming is alone sufficient to prove that 1 Thess. could not have been written after St. Paul's death. And a fabrication moulded on it during his lifetime would not long escape detection. The authenticity of 1 Thess. denied forty years ago by many scholars, is now admitted except in the circle which rejects St. Paul as a sacred writer.¹

The Christology of St. Paul.—Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, make up a distinct section, which must be viewed as a whole. The Letters were composed and sent off at one time, during St. Paul's first Roman imprisonment, between 60 and 64. If we assume his martyrdom to have taken place so early as the latter year, then 60 will not be a premature date for this correspondence. Difficulties, as regards Philemon, there are none; and this taking instance of the Apostle's tender disposition toward slaves under the hard conditions of antiquity, furnishes proofs, by its names, allusions, and the like, which recommend to our credence the Tractates sent along with it. They share in the attestations which we have so often recited concerning all the Epistles. An occasion is found for them in the visit of Epaphras to St. Paul, bringing an account of the perils which threatened believers at Colossæ from a school of Judaizing Gnostics, the heralds to a coming generation of dreamers about angelology, emanations, myths and magical rites, such as decadent Hebraism fostered. See Juvenal and other classic authors, who confirm what we know from apocryphal writings, 150 B.C. to 150 A.D.²

¹ *E. Bi.*, "Thessals.," secs. 8-10.

² Juvenal, vi. 542-47; Plutarch, *De Superstit.*, 3; Lucian, *De Morte Peregr.*, 13; *Philopat.*, 16.

Relation of Ephesians to Colossians.—But internal criticism offers more than one problem. The style is in many respects unlike that of St. Paul as we have learned it in Romans, etc., though but two, or at most four, years only would have elapsed between these compositions. Is not the doctrine too suddenly developed? and how explain the absence of particular greetings to his own Church at Ephesus on the Apostle's part, when he had dwelt there three years and taken so affectionate a leave of its elders?

To the last query answer is made that the Letter was not perhaps addressed to Ephesus. In good MSS. the ascription is wanting; it was not certain to St. Jerome or St. Basil; we may define the treatise to be a "Catholic Epistle," sent round to the Churches in proconsular Asia. Should this explanation be set aside, another way, probable in the eyes of many judges (but to us not so), would be the detaching of chapter xvi. from Romans and completing Ephesians with it. As regards doctrine—and what we have to say is true of Colossians likewise—the mystical tendencies of Judaism were long antecedent to St. Paul. Wherever Christianity took root, questions of that nature could not fail to spring up; for the monotheistic belief must be reconciled with our Lord's Divine claims, and how was it to be done? Moreover, St. Paul himself had insisted on the depth of the mystery which he was commissioned to preach; from the thoughts of Romans (viii. 38, 39; xi. 33, 36), 1 Cor. (ii. 6-16), 2 Cor. (iii. 6-18), the mind is carried into a region of genuine Gnosis, and Catholic theology may be said to begin. St. Paul had a doctrine of justification; could he pass through life without also setting in order his philosophy of the unseen, as touching God and His Christ, the angels and the powers of the world to come?

Why the Language Novel.—It must be granted that the *usus verborum* in both Letters, though constantly Pauline, is not devoid of peculiarities. Colos-

sians, written perhaps first, may have derived its new language from the report of Epaphras, who would tell what the Gnostic leaders had been saying in their own words. To appropriate and adapt them to our Lord might be a legitimate triumph of the apologist. Again, St. Paul was answering from hearsay, as to the points in a lawyer's brief; he had not met these innovators or founded the Church at Colossæ. Taking Ephesians to be an encyclical Letter, we understand why it should repeat much in almost the same terms from a document just composed, should lay stress on Church unity as the safeguard against speculations of so wild a genius, and should omit personal messages. Yet, "so far as it can be done within the compass of one short Letter, Paul has laid down in Ephesians something like an exhaustive outline of his Gospel".¹

Philippians.—Philippians, a strikingly beautiful and affecting Letter to the first Church that he had founded in Europe, was, it is thought, St. Paul's concluding epistle from Rome during the years 60-64. It abounds in personal reminiscences, makes much of Epaphroditus (who is not the Epaphras of Colossæ), contains parallel passages and terms by which to connect it with previous writings, is closely in touch with Ephesians-Colossians, and was quoted in plain language by Polycarp (115 according to Harnack) when himself writing to the same Church and transmitting thereto the Ignatian documents. It is not probable that he had in view more than one Pauline Letter. Philippians has withstood the *a priori* rejection inflicted on it by Tübingen, and is happy in possessing those inimitable yet undesigned traits by which we are made familiar with St. Paul as with scarcely any other man, Christian, Jew or heathen, of the period. It shows him prepared to live or die, but expecting speedy trial and, if it please God, deliverance. The notion that another should have

¹ *E. Bi.*, "Coloss." and "Ephes.," secs. 11-15; Lightfoot, *Coloss.*; *Ignat.*, i. 376; Vigouroux, *M. B.*, iv., 412.

written in such a strain, sixty years after his death, is fantastic and demonstrably false.¹

Last Group—Pastoral Epistles.—Unlike the ten pieces which we have thus run over, the Pastoral three—I and 2 Timothy and Titus—cannot be brought into connection with such a document as the Acts, or with historical occasions by which to test them. Into the framework of St. Paul's life, as we gather it from the rest of Scripture, they have never been duly fitted. Modern critics, who terminate the Apostle's career in 64 A.D. and do not allow his second Roman captivity, either reject them altogether (which is the prevailing voice) or assign them to the years when Ephesians-Philippians were sent out. Orthodox commentators throw them forward to 64-67, suggest a new missionary round of the Apostle (from Rome to Asia by way of Crete, for instance, and from Ephesus to Macedonia and Epirus) which would explain his writing 1 Tim. and Titus, while he perhaps journeyed into Spain, and returning thence finished his course under Nero in Rome. The Second to Timothy is clear on this latter place and these circumstances. No fewer than seventeen persons are named in 2 Tim. iv., of whom Pudens, Linus, and Claudia belong to the Roman Church between 60 and 100 A.D. Hypothetical journeys do not, indeed, give us means of verification; but they prove that the Epistles need not be fictitious, and they cast out threads in the direction of the group Colossians-Ephesians, in accordance with St. Paul's express designs if he should be set free.²

Difficulties and Answers.—Rejected by Marcion, these Letters were public property in 130. They present difficulties of language, but contain various undoubted marks of the Apostle's speech and manner. The recognition of episcopacy in so advanced a stage is another objection; but we cannot argue from negatives,

¹ Hastings, *D. B.*, *ad vocem*.

² *Horæ Paulinæ*, 292-333; for above conjecture, 332.

and the history of Church-beginnings is highly debatable. Some revision of these Pastoral Letters by a younger hand, as many critics suggest, would keep the Pauline substance, respect such early witnesses as are on record, and account for the terminology. When "moderate" critics assign to them a "communal origin," and suppose the form to be late (under Trajan, or Ignatian period) while notes or fragments from the hand of the Apostle, or even his sayings in conversation, are used as concrete for the literary edifice, they bring out some momentous truths. It was the Church that preserved our Christian writings, that recited them publicly, watched over their text, and defended them against heretics. The Pastoral Letters, employed by Ignatius and Polycarp, claim a position in the first century; and whether the form be Pauline to its whole extent, or merely "sub-Pauline," the spirit and life are Apostolic. "One to Philemon, to Titus one, and two addressed to Timothy, in affection and love," says the Muratorian Canon, "have been sanctified in the ordering of ecclesiastical discipline." Or, as a recent writer puts it, thanks to such teaching as the Pastorals contain, ordinary Christians came through the struggle with Gnosticism safe in possessing these four truths, "The unity of the Creator and Redeemer, the unique and sufficient value of Jesus for redemption and salvation, the vital tie between morals and faith, and the secure future assured to the Church of God".¹

To the Hebrews.—Hebrews, by its position in later Greek MSS. and Vulgate, at once raises the inquiry how so large and admirable a tractate should not have been reckoned with other principal Epistles if its author were known. It is quoted, also, by Clement Rom. abundantly, but not as St. Paul's. The Latin custom, we heard St. Jerome say, was to leave it out of the Canon. In the Catalogue of sacred writers he names

¹ *E. Bz.*, "Timothy," secs. 11-16.

St. Paul author of the Thirteen Epistles, and goes on, "That to the Hebrews which is in circulation is held not to be his, on account of the difference of style and speech". Tertullian, he adds, ascribed it to Barnabas; others to St. Luke; some to St. Clement.¹ In the Alexandrian Church it was received time out of mind, and given to the Apostle. But Origen distinguished between the ideas, which might be Pauline, and the language, which could not be; this, too, we learn from St. Jerome, was what the attribution to Clement signified,—erroneously, for the construction of the Epistle is not Hebraic but regular and has affinities with the style of the Acts. From a literary point of view nothing can be less probable than that the highly original manner which we perceive in Romans, Corinthians, etc., should have been exchanged by St. Paul for one so opposite, if he held the pen himself. For the Epistle is constructed according to the method of late Greek rhetoric.

Pauline Ideas and Substance.—St. Jerome, on his part, acknowledged the inspiration and canonicity of Hebrews, though doubtful concerning the author, whom he would have wished to be the Apostle. "It matters not whose it be," said the great Bible scholar, "since it comes from an ecclesiastical man and is daily celebrated in the Church recitation." His words carried the event. Theologians teach, says the widely used *Manuel Biblique* of Vigouroux and Bacuez, that St. Paul's authorship is not, in this case, an article of faith. For the Epistle does not profess to come from him. And the Tridentine ascription defines *per se* none of those questions.² Yet that Pauline ideas and even terms enter deeply into the composition is admitted, of course by our divines, but also in critical circles. Extrinsic evidence of the Apostolic source is alleged from St. Cyril of Jerusalem († 386); Origen, so far as

¹ *Ad Paulin*; *Catalog, Scrip, Eccles.*

² *Man. Bibl.*, iv. 482.

he witnesses to the tradition of Alexandria; St. John Chrysostom (†407) for Antioch, and Clem. Alex. (†217) who refers to it as Pauline, but who felt the difficulty of which all moderns and many ancients have been sensible. St. Athanasius, in the Festal Catalogue, reckons fourteen Letters of St. Paul and places Hebrews in front of the Pastorals. While, therefore, no doubt can be advanced disparaging to its rank in the Canon, this "learned and incomparable" work, as Bossuet called it, is either the Apostle's in style no less than teaching, or if (to go by probabilities) the language cannot be his, nay, if the general course of reasoning belongs to another,—Apollon, Barnabas, whoever seems more likely,—the central idea of redemption from the Mosaic Law and priesthood comes to us directly out of Galatians and Romans. Under these circumstances the date will not much signify. The persecution under Domitian has been suggested. And modern views incline to regard the work as directed from Asia to Christians in Rome, not born Hebrews but Gentiles. If Apollon be the writer, our Epistle would exhibit a nobler specimen of the Alexandrian wisdom than Philo himself.¹

The Catholic Epistles—St. James.—Our last notes are to deal with the "Catholic Epistles" and the Apocalypse. They may be very brief.

The Epistle of James is, according to Eusebius, among the *antilegomena*, not admitted by all the Churches. St. Jerome says, "It is asserted to have been brought in by somebody else under his name". St. Chrysostom distinguished the author, who is certainly James the Just (Obliam) known in Josephus, from James the son of Zebedee and James the son of Alphaeus. He is commonly styled Bishop of Jerusalem; and we must identify him, it would appear (despite St. John Chrysostom) with James "the brother of the Lord" in

¹ *Man. Bibl.*, iv. 482-87.

Galatians and Acts. He was a Christian after the strong Hebrew type. His Letter, in very good Greek of its kind, has in view the Pauline doctrine which Romans copiously expressed, and is written from a different, though as theologians prove, not a contrary standing-ground. It represents in the discussion of faith and works another side than St. Paul had insisted on,—nor does it attain his depth of spiritual exposition. Such diversities of thought in documents which are alike due to the divine impulse meet us throughout Scripture; in the New Testament they number the steps by which dogma was fashioned into its permanent shape. The Letter itself indicates a close and early acquaintance with our Lord's teaching; in many places it is an echo of the Sermon on the Mount. Some Churches were slow to receive it, because of the seeming opposition to Pauline ideas; but it completes and safeguards that bold theology, as was shown at the rise of Lutheranism. We shall always need a protest like St. James's against antinomian tendencies which, by denying the merit of Christian good works, would pave the way towards rejection of the moral code. The date is about 60. St. James was martyred in 62 or 63.¹

1 and 2 Peter—St. Jude.—1 St. Peter is practically undisputed by the ancients. It offers reminiscences of St. Paul in speech and attitude; it was certainly dated from Rome (the mystic Babylon of Jews whether Pharisees or Christians) and its vital relation to our Lord's teaching in the Gospels has been often dwelt upon.² It belongs to some year after 60. Copious references in Clem. Rom.; others in Papias and Polycarp; the name is given by Irenæus, perhaps in the *Frag. Muratori*; by Tertullian, Clem. Alex., Origen; and 2 Peter alludes to it expressly. But 2 Peter itself, while claiming in so many words to be the writing of the Apostle, is less

¹ *Man. Bibl.*, iv. 577-82. Batiffol, *Six Leçons*, 22.

² Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 3; ii. 15.

authenticated by early Church tradition than any other book of the New Testament except the short Epistle of Jude, with which it has remarkable affinities. Of both it is to be said, according to Eusebius, that they were disputed; we receive them on the testimony of the Church, but know nothing as regards their literary provenance.¹ St. Jerome, who remarked the unlikeness of style between 1 and 2 Peter, gave his own explanation, "For different matters he employed divers interpreters." But this will not clear up the resemblance with Jude, "rejected by most," or throw light on the question of priority. The apologist, whose concern is chiefly with 2 Peter, is justified in pointing out how improbable would be the acceptance late in the second century of a writing hitherto quite unknown. That the Epistles of St. Paul should be reckoned in it with "the other Scriptures" is taken by modern critics as indicating a post-Apostolic date; and so the way in which our Lord's Parousia is handled. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot adequately answer these and the like inquiries.²

Johannine Letters.—Of the Johannine Epistles we have spoken. The First may well be a preface to the Fourth Gospel; the Second is addressed probably to a Church "elect" as St. Peter calls that of Rome; the Third is to Gaius. They repeat sayings which bear the stamp of St. John at Ephesus, according to the famous anecdote in St. Jerome. The canonicity of the Gospel takes up these along with it, as Apostolic writings. No question is more ventilated than that of 1 Jn. v. 7, the verse of the three Heavenly witnesses. It is for textual criticism to decide under the Church's guidance.³

The Book of Revelation.—The Apocalypse, recognised as coming from St. John son of Zebedee by

¹ *H. E.*, iii. 3.

² Fuller treatment in *Man. Bibl.*, 603-5. On 2 Peter, Sanday, *Oracles of God*, 73; Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude*.

³ *Man. Bibl.*, iv. 624-31, has a fair discussion of 1 Jn. v. 7.

most modern judges and by all Catholics, was not doubted until a late period among the Eastern Fathers; and that doubt, which led to rejection in time of Eusebius, drew all its force, not from a break in the tradition but from hatred of the Millenarian views such as we find them in Irenæus (Bk. v., xxxiii.-xxxvi.). It was a dogmatic problem, raised by the teaching of the New Testament so far as it concerned our Lord's second advent. Hence we may be sure that the volume goes back to the first century and is Apostolic. When once the Parousia was regarded as indefinitely distant, no book of a cast like the Revelation would have made its way into the Canon. But the precise date is a subject of controversy. To Irenæus and his followers, if not to Papias, the age of Domitian (95 A.D.) was approved. Those, on the other hand, who with modern critics explain the Apocalypse as applying to St. John's own times (a reasonable supposition) take it earlier, the year 68 or 69, and see in its pages the approaching fall of Jerusalem. A middle course would be to imagine that St. John in 95 compiled a series of prophetic writings which he bound up with his preface, the "seven epistles," and his description of the Church under its symbolic name of the New Jerusalem. No view of date, compilation, or literal meaning has ever been sanctioned by authority.

But there is something deeply significant in the fact that our Lord should have chosen His beloved disciple not only to write the last, the most heavenly-minded of the Gospels, but also to crown the New Testament with a Prophecy which gives, as in perspective, the series of conflicts and the final triumph whereby Christian faith overcomes its foes, seen and unseen. All Scripture is gathered up into such words as these: "And He said unto me, 'It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and

I will be his God and he shall be My son' " (Apoc. xxi. 6, 7).¹

Here ends the Canon of Holy Scripture.

¹ *Man. Bibl.*, iv. 646-56; Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39, comp. with iii. 25 and vii. 25; Hippolyt., *De Antichristo*; Aug., in *Joan*, 13; Ep. 118; *Civ. Dei*, last books; Jerome in Ps. 149; that Apoc. and other Johannine writings were handed down together Tertull. witnesses, "Instrumentum Johannis" in *Resurrect.*, 38; *Pudicit.*, 19; *Præscript.*, 33. On final acceptance of N. T. Deutero-Canon, Loisy, *ut supra*, 201-7. For the Pastoral Epistles, see Ramsay's defence of their historical setting, Sanday's literary analysis, the external testimony in Hastings' *D. B.*, and Knowling on the whole subject.

SECTION III.

AUTHORITY AND INTERPRETATION OF HOLY WRIT.

CHAPTER X.

THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF SCRIPTURE.

The Inspired Record.—Christianity is a Revelation not only in its ideas and substance, but also in its form and record. It is, as we said, a *Revelatio revelata*. The Divine books which contain it (not without tradition in the Church) are those set forth one by one, according to Florence, Trent and the Vatican, as canonical and inspired. Taken altogether, they constitute the "Word of God written". No man can add to these things; none may take away "from the words of the book of this prophecy". It has many human writers, but God is its author. And "all Scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work".¹

From these first notions it appears that Holy Writ, in make and purpose, stands alone among books. It is not a secular history, nor a treatise on morals from the pen of a philosopher; it teaches no physical science; it does not proceed by metaphysical reasoning. Perhaps the simplest way of describing it would be to call its pages the inspired record of Revelation. Whatever we

¹ Apoc. xxii. 18, 19; 2 Tim. iii. 16 (in Vg.).

meet in them falls under this account of it. Much of Scripture came to its writers through the channels of ordinary knowledge, and did not ask to be revealed. But nothing was admitted into the Bible except as it furnished occasion, matter, scope, whereby the object of revealed truth found its fulfilment. Hence, from this point of view, we cannot look upon the Scriptures as we do on any other product of human literature; for the efficient and final causes to which we owe them are supernatural. There is a divine element, the very essence of the Bible, in all its parts; its primary author is the Holy Ghost.

Internal Witness not Adequate.—But every distinct portion of Scripture does not tell us that it was written under such an influence; rarely do its sections affirm that they are Scripture at all. We learn the extent and limit of the Canon (which is conterminous with inspired documents binding on Christians) not merely by our judgment regarding its spiritual value, but from the witness appointed, *viz.*, the Church. St. Paul, in the text quoted above, lays down or implies a principle which affects “all Scripture”; but he does not say where we shall find the catalogue. St. Peter again says, “No prophecy is made by private interpretation,” and “the holy men of God spake, inspired (literally in the Greek, ‘borne onward’) by the Holy Ghost”. Yet neither has he given us the books which were thus composed. Moreover, an internal criterion will not avail to decide: (1) for, in fact, it has never done so, all Churches setting up their Bible on testimony; (2) because it would be hopeless to look for unanimity of impression among different ages and civilisations; (3) inasmuch as the Bible is an organic whole, and its parts, if severed by analysis, would often lose their vital meaning. A book such as Esther or Canticles, out of its Scripture-frame, would surely not be accepted as having a greater religious importance than the Epistle of Clement Rom., or Barnabas, or the Pastor of Hermas, all at one time

read in some Churches under the notion that they were inspired. When Catholic tradition puts these aside, but never hesitates over the Books of Kings, Chron., Eccles. and other writings in which the prophetic strain,—“the heavenliness of the matter,”—is disputed by modern critics, clearly it appeals to “the law and the testimony,” it goes upon the facts, and refuses *a priori* grounds of argument. We do not first imagine a theory of inspiration and then apply it; we open the volumes known to be of divine authorship to discover in them what that statement signifies.¹

The Spirit and His Influence.—All our knowledge of God is conveyed and expressed by likenesses borrowed from earthly things. In itself the one everlasting *Actus Realis* by which He exists and does whatever proceeds from Him is infinitely simple, *i.e.* not compounded of various energies, nor does it involve divers actions on the part of the Almighty. We cannot understand a truth so mysterious; but reason teaches that it must be admitted. Human language, therefore, according to St. Thomas, who follows Dionysius Areopagita in his deep exposition, represents the Divine Simplicity by throwing it into facets, and names these from their finite results or manifestations. To bring out the influence which is here in question, as it affects its human subjects, Holy Scripture reveals to us that the “Spirit of God” moves, overshadows, guides, and controls them for the office which they fulfil. The word “Spirit” is plainly metaphorical; but in this higher sense it has been adopted by races and literatures which did not borrow it from Israel.

We must assume all this and confine ourselves to the Bible.² In Genesis i. 2. we read, “Darkness was upon

¹ *Man. Bibl.*, i. 50-53; Loisy, *Can. N. T.*, 200-7; Gigot, *Gen. Introd.*, 517-35; Franzelin, *De Trad. et Script.*, 291, 321 (ed. 1870).

² “*Spiritus spirat ubi vult*” represents in Vg. John iii. 8, which A. V. translates “The wind bloweth where it listeth,” while Douay has “The Spirit breatheth where he will”. A. V. agrees with context.

the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God (*ruach Elohim*) moved (or was brooding) upon the face of the waters". But in LXX. this Hebrew word (*ruach*) is translated in sixteen different ways; some equivalent to the physical meaning, breath or wind; others denoting intelligence; more again laying stress on the agitation which often accompanies the divine contact. Literally, we may render inspiration as the "breath of God in Man". It has a superhuman origin; it is known by human actions, the scope of which goes beyond what they could in themselves accomplish. On God's side creative, on man's it is receptive. The general effect is called a grace (*charisma*) freely bestowed, which may or may not be associated with moral qualities in the recipient. The writer's inspiration is not chiefly on his own account, but that his work may serve the people of God. Technically, theologians define it as *gratia gratis data*, by which they mean a Grace of ministration.¹

His Manifold Operations. — With superhuman energy, therefore, the Spirit in both Testaments comes upon man, being symbolised in the storm-wind, in thunder and lightning, in fire; but also in the still small voice on hearing which Elijah wrapped his face in his mantle. The afflatus or breath, seizing on the human instrument of a sudden, may produce ecstasy, wherein the prophet, "falling into a trance but having his eyes open," speaks words of import unknown to his ordinary self, perceives the distant or the future, and reveals God's purposes. Physical effects of a more or less miraculous nature may ensue. Thus we observe in Othniel, Jephthah, Samson, Saul, how the Spirit stirs them up to set Israel free, and in the last-named his appointment as King is followed by a kind of frenzy, whence it was a saying, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" But another and better gift was insight,

¹ St. Th., *Quæst. Disputat. de Veritate*, xii., *per totum*.

"He that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer".

Beginning with oracular utterances, the "roeh," who left on his terrified audience an impression that he was mad (*meshugga*) or, as the Greeks termed it, simply a "mantis" (from *mania*), needed some one to explain what he had given out in trance. And so the word "prophet" arose, signifying an interpreter. Thus Apollo became the prophet of his Father Zeus in Delphi.¹

But the Hebrew "nabi," (Assyr. *Nebo*) which we render by this Greek equivalent, seems always to have kept something of its first ecstatic connotation; Ps. xliv., "Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum," gives us its formula, "My heart overflows with a goodly matter". And so in Ezekiel (xx. 46), "Drop thy word toward the South and prophesy". To suggest the inward light, its recipient was known as "khozeh," one that looks within, and he saw in vision (*khazon*). The message he brought was an "oracle of Jahweh," commanding, and with promises or threats foretelling, "Thus shall it come to pass". Three kinds of inspired persons may be distinguished,—the diviner (commonly *mantis*); then the seer in trance; lastly, the prophet who is a "man of the spirit" (Hos. ix. 7) called to his task by the voice of God, and enjoying a permanent relation with Him. When we study the greatest of the line, Isaiah or Moses, we see that each is at once "forthsayer" and "foresayer"; that his enthusiasm never ceases to be ethical; that the future is judged and its figure drawn in virtue of principles which constitute the divine order of things. From which it follows that the prophet is the mouth of Jahweh and his word is God's word. He cannot be silent, or hold in the fury of the Lord, or speak otherwise than he is bidden.²

¹Num. xxiv. 2, 4; Jud. iii. 10; vi. 34; xi. 29; xiii. 25; 1 Sam. ix. 9; x. 6, 11. Pindar, *Frag.*, 118; Eurip., *Ion.*, 369, 413; Plat., *Phædr.*, 244; Lucian, *Alex.*, 40.

²*E. B.*, "Prophetic Lit.," secs. 5, 12-20; Hastings, *D. B.*, 113-26.

Growth of Prophecy—The Narrow School.—The fellow-feeling for his kind which animated even the lowest of men who had the spirit, grew by degrees among a chosen few into a zeal for righteousness and humanity. In Elijah we marvel at the stern preacher of Jahweh's claim on Israel; but when we come to the Isaianic period our attention is arrested by a whole group of prophets who judge all nations according to their merits in God's sight. The religion of Monotheism with its universal code of morals, which had been revealed in outline to Abraham, is established. This gradual development allows for many stages, and by the side of progress we note degeneration. The mere diviner sinks into a "false prophet"; the old official expounder of current religion,—who was an Israelite first of all, and to whom Chemosh or Baal was only a "strange god," not *nehushtan*, an abomination,—strives to keep his footing over against these innovators, careless as they seemed whether Israel went down so long as righteousness triumphed. The distinction does not lie exactly between falsehood and truth, although Hebrew antithesis, which abhorred literary and moral shading, might lead us to fancy so. Different levels of prophecy meet us in the Old Testament at every turn. The narrow view had its place and function. It was the Sadducee that in the brave Maccabean struggles saved the future for Christianity. We owe to the Pharisees and their legal tradition our text of the Prophets as well as the Pentateuch. But they would not enter with Jesus into its diviner meanings; and so Talmudic Israel sprang from this national patriotic school, which when compared with polytheism had excellent virtues, but which, in casting away the Christian light and grace, became a false prophet.¹

From Ecstasy to Spiritual Insight.—To be ecstatic, then, was not always to be orthodox; and orthodoxy

¹ *E. Bi.*, "Proph. Lit.," sec. 24.

itself, where it refused the larger vision, shrivelled up into the righteousness of Scribes and Pharisees. Holy Scripture could not bear the immoral soothsayer from the beginning. It allows the name of prophet to Zedekiah in Book of Kings; and even to Hananiah who stood forth against Jeremiah and was by him condemned to die within the year (Jer. xxviii. 16). Men like these were seers by profession, with certain qualities which entitled them to play the part; but a deeper and more spiritual revelation superseded them. As a movement, prophecy goes from trance to intuition; it is ever tending to strip itself of outward accidents; it uses parables instead of acted symbolism as time proceeds; it commits the word to writing and almost anticipates the didactic methods of St. Paul. It is the same Spirit that guides from first to last; nor is any single process given up; nay, all may be combined in one teacher. For St. John originates the Apocalypse in a series of visions, but the Fourth Gospel reasons. However, as our Lord's example proves, the supreme wisdom is calm, conscious of itself, in no sense abnormal. The word uttered by Him appears equal to the message, without violence, allegorical shows, frenzy, or any of the devices—not even the music of Elisha—which were once required. "Behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks . . . but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice" (1 Kings xix. 11). Remark how all the customary tokens of the Spirit are held out only to be put on one side, in this overpowering manifestation of Jahweh. The portents vanish, the still small voice has more terror in it than wind, earthquake or fire. So is that record we name the Bible a permanent revelation which all the peoples in their turn shall hear of and by its judgments be doomed or saved. The inspiration of Prophets and

Apostles brings forth and bequeaths to us this one volume. Note also that Zechariah forebodes the very extinction of prophecy as a thing become unclean, perverted to heathen uses (xiii. 2-5). Its ecstatic nature demanded control. And so it perished from Judah. Even in Christian ages, it has taken all the authority of Church rulers to prevent the excess into which enthusiasm too speedily plunges ; while, outside the Catholic range, visionaries either distort revealed doctrine or are tempted into antinomian courses.¹

Prophecy Tends to become Literature.—Two conclusions may be drawn from the preceding. Prophecy has kinds and degrees, but need not imply agitation of the human subject or frenzy ; and it tends towards a permanent record of its message in writing. The man is first filled with the Holy Spirit ; a portion of his charge it sometimes is to set down for future remembrance the things he has uttered. No small part of the Bible is due to the Prophets themselves, who first preached and then wrote their preaching. But besides these we have another class to keep in view, the recorders who were not prophets. And it deserves observation that a large part of the difficulties raised by modern critics bear on this class,—the chroniclers and historians in Scripture. No one maintains that in Joshua, Judges, Kings, Paralipomena, there is revelation strictly so termed, *i.e.*, a disclosure of supernatural secrets or divine counsels. Yet they are a necessary framework. Coming to the New Testament, St. Mark or St. Luke has no message of his own ; their task is compilation from sources oral and written. But, as we said on occasion of it, 2 Maccabees declares itself not to be an original in any sense ; it is the inspired compendium of a book which was probably not inspired.

Inspiration not always Revelation.—Clearly then, Revelation is one thing, the impulse to write a book of

¹ Striking but heterodox view in Spinoza, *Tract. Theol.-Polit.*, ii.

Scripture is something else, distinct and independent of it; the inspired writer need not be a prophet. For by Revelation, as our theologians determine it, is meant the divine gift of new ideas, "*species sensibiles aut intellectuales*," which make known things hitherto dark, mysteries of Heaven or facts and truths of earth not before in the prophet's possession. But to be inspired for writing is to have one's knowledge so governed and one's powers so moved that the result shall be a document free from approved error, conveying that information (and neither more nor less) which the Holy Spirit willed to have put on record. He gives therefore light, guidance and control. The chief purpose is not to teach but to preserve revealed truth, of course in such a way that we can apprehend, so far as necessary, the circumstances, historical and ethical, under which the deposit of faith has been left to us. New matter belongs, in some sort, to the essence of Revelation; it is not a condition without which inspiration ceases to exist.¹

The Bible and other "Sacred Books".—The Bible is, accordingly, a transcript, watched over by the Holy Spirit, of God's oracles to Israel and the Church, together with a sketch of their history. We bear in mind that Providence never left itself without witness among the nations; and if Clement of Alexandria ventures a little boldly to talk of the Dispensation of Gentilism,² or others have seen analogies of our sacred books in the vast Oriental literatures,—the Vedas, Zend Avesta, Babylonian Psalms and Epics,—or among the elder Greeks, one observation meets this view. As Christianity is supreme and unique among religions, so is the Bible far beyond other writings, however grave or lofty, in its total effect. Scholars who are capable of judging will not appeal from this conclusion which is, indeed, generally admitted. "Eastern literatures," said Renan,

¹ Lagrange, *Hist. Crit.*, 89-101; cf. St. Thomas, *De Veritate*, xii., art. 7; Franzelin, *ut supra*, 298.

² Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vi. 8; sect. 67; vii. 2; Newman, *Arians*, 81.

"as a rule can be appreciated only by experts; Hebrew literature is the Bible, 'the Book,' or the universal reading; millions are acquainted with no other poetry. Proportion, measure, taste, were the exclusive privilege of the Hebrew among Orientals. Israel had, like Greece, the gift of liberating and expressing its thought in a mould at once limited and perfect; thus it gave to its ideas and feelings a universal form, acceptable to the human race."

Jewish Ideas of Inspiration.—Efforts to prove the inspiration of whole books from the Bible itself are embarrassed by the circumstance that it was taken for granted and no Israelite would have called it in question. Passages are cited from the Pentateuch, Joshua, Isa., Jer., Ezek., Dan., 2 Macc., which have reference to special portions, or mention "the Books"; and in the New Testament "David saith by the Holy Ghost," or the verses we have quoted from 2 Tim. and 2 Peter. The New Testament ever recognises as a final authority the words of Holy Scripture. But "none of the sacred writers professes at any time to be distinctly conscious of his own inspiration". We learn the Jewish doctrine from Philo and Josephus. Philo sets Moses above all other writers, says that the words of the Old Testament are God-inspired, has a Platonising theory on the subject, makes the prophet a passive instrument and his condition ecstasy. Josephus in like manner, "They alone are prophets who have written . . . as they learned of God by inspiration," hence the twenty-two books are divine.¹

The post-Christian Jewish teaching went to extravagant lengths: every syllable was dictated by the Almighty; Moses wrote in the land of Moab, under revelation, the account of his own death; all the sacred books were taboo and "defiled the hands" of those who

¹ Gigot, *Gen. Introd.*, 474, 478; on Philo, *vide* Zeller, *Phil. of Greeks*, iii., pt. 2, 346.

touched them. Christian writers inherited the tradition which Philo, Josephus, and the Talmud have expressed. Literal inspiration, covering every sentence, nay, every word of the Old Testament was held; in due time it comprehended the Gospels and Apostolic writings. It is observed that Irenæus did not come under the Philonic influence. Not a single Father dreamt of calling in question the fact that Holy Scripture is inspired. But discussions arose concerning the manner and extent of the divine afflatus, which, after sixteen hundred years, if we reckon from Origen, are not yet decided. They reflect the complex nature of tradition on this subject, and perhaps, considering how temperaments vary, are insoluble outside certain limits. We have, in this chapter, dwelt on the divine element which formally constitutes Holy Writ. Now we must glance at the human instruments by means of which it is brought into being.¹

Church Definitions.—We do so, keeping always in view the Vatican declaration; “which books of Old and New Testament, entire with all their parts as recited in the decree of Trent, are to be held as sacred and canonical. But the Church holds them to be such, not because, having been composed by human diligence, they were afterwards approved by her authority; nor yet only because they contain revelation without error; but inasmuch as, having been written by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and as such have been handed down to the Church itself” (Sess. 3, “*Dei Filius*,” 2).

Or, as the Nicene Creed affirms, we believe in “the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Lifegiver, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified; who spake by the Prophets”.

And again, with the Epistle to the Hebrews (i. 1),

¹ *Shab.*, 104 a; *Baba Bathra*, 14-15; *Ṭadaim*, 3-5.

we recognise in the course of history that "God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past to the fathers by the Prophets, hath, last of all, in these days spoken to us by His Son".

Finally, with Baruch (iv. 1), "This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endureth for ever".

CHAPTER XI.

THE HUMAN INSTRUMENT.

Spirit and Word of God.—Theology was Greek long ere it put on a Latin vesture; and to Greek minds such as Clement of Alexandria and the “adamantine” Origen we are indebted for those early “connections of science with revealed Religion” that bind together the divine and the human. “Dispensing in former times,” says Clement of the Word of God, “to some His precepts, to others philosophy, now at length by His own coming He has closed the course of unbelief . . . Greek and Barbarian (or Jew) being led forward by a separate process to that perfection which is through faith.”¹ We are not, then, to imagine a world of Nature shut off and remote from the world of Grace; all men have fallen, and all have been redeemed. Every kind of human activity save sin is a fruit or outcome of the Father’s power, through the Son’s wisdom, in the love of the Holy Ghost. Without the Word of God “was not anything made,” but “that which came to be, in Him was life, and the life was the light of men”. He is the Demiurge, the Logos who in all creatures is the seed of their existence from on high; being especially in Adam’s race their supreme Reason, creative as an artist intent on working out a plan. Upon this errand the Son goes forth or comes down, step after step, age after age, by manifestations that announce or prepare His last and deepest con-

¹*Strom.*, vii. 2.

descension. In Greek this whole series of acts is termed the *Synatabasis* of the Son, and it is perfected by the Spirit. We have met the Hebrew name already, *Ruach Elohim*, which sums up all divine energies in relation to creatures. We do not find in the Old Testament a literal equivalent for "Logos"; but in Proverbs viii. the Wisdom of God (*Chochmah*) appears as exercising those gracious functions which St. John attributes to the Word, and which in Gen. i. are fulfilled when God speaks His "Fiat".

Economies of Divine Light.—"Accordingly," says Newman, following the Alexandrians, "there is nothing unreasonable in the notion, that there may have been heathen poets and sages, or Sibyls again, in a certain extent divinely illuminated, and organs through whom religious and moral truth was conveyed to their countrymen; though their knowledge of the Power from whom the gift came, nay, and their perception of the gift as existing in themselves, may have been very faint or defective."¹

The points here insisted upon are (1) that "every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights" (James i. 17), and (2) that degrees of illumination, varying with individuals as with peoples, cast no slur on the Divine act itself, which on God's side is always of necessity without the imperfection that clings to creatures. This conception is assailed by unbelievers on the ground that it evades difficulties by laying them to the charge of men; but if we affirm that there is a God at all, not limited by that which He calls into being, the distinction must hold good. In some form or other every system, while exhibiting the gradations and opposite strivings of forces, personalities, ideas, volitions, traces the power by which they move to a source beyond them. So is it with grace, and in particular with inspiration. We

¹ *Arians*, 84; Theophil. Antioch., *Ad Autol.*, ii. 9; Justin, 1 *Apol.*, xx. xlv.

may say of it, as the Alexandrians of Revelation at large, that it is "a universal, not a local gift," adding, of course, that Israel and Christianity were granted "authoritative documents of truth; appointed channels of communication" with God.

This Doctrine is Catholic.—Be it remembered that this view was not invented yesterday, to meet Babylonian discoveries, but came up as soon as Apostles (St. Paul before the Areopagus), and catechists (Theonas Alex.), or defenders of the faith (Origen), found themselves in presence of a Greek wisdom that somehow contained "the rudiments of that really perfect knowledge which is beyond this world". Hebrew inspiration was a thing apart; nevertheless, not simply foreign or repugnant to our intellectual nature. The Divine influence has made itself known through veils and enigmas, Scripture almost everywhere speaking an "oracular language"; on the other hand Pythagoras and Plato were called "thieves of Moses," not grateful for that which they appropriated. Clement of Alexandria describes ecstasy as a token of false prophets. Origen will have it that the priestess of Delphi was subject to demonic power. The School of Alexandria recognised in every jot and tittle of Scripture the inspired quality; and Origen, who struck out his own line of exposition, defends the New Testament writers from having in any way erred.

Method of Allegory.—But Origen speaks emphatically on the discrepancies or seeming contradictions which his reading of the Bible furnished, and to escape from them he had recourse to an allegorical interpretation of the Sacred Books. Irenæus, in the previous age, had maintained that "the Scriptures are perfect, since they were spoken by the Word of God and His Spirit,"—which is the traditional Greek manner of declaring inspiration—but he remarked the human peculiarities in St. Paul, etc. To allegorise was not his method. From Origen the Western Fathers, Hilary,

Ambrose, and Augustine derived their subordination of the literal to the spiritual sense which, especially as regards the Old Testament, was used to clear up the obscure or to get rid of the apparently disedifying passages,—an instrument not of critics but of theologians. Thus it was that Augustine heard from Ambrose at Milan, “the enigma solved of the ancient Scriptures,” which “when he took them to the letter had been the destruction of his spirit”. For Ambrose opened the sense of things which “seemed to teach perversely” by removing their mystic veil ; and Augustine was brought to distinguish between the sublime meaning and the “humble manner” of speech. In these words, not only are the verbal difficulties of the Bible admitted, but its moral problems ; the element we call human is not denied to be there, but it is justified by the hidden scope and onward movement ; “the end of the Law is Christ”.¹

Obiter Dicta?—Origen had thrown out another hint ; there were certainly degrees of inspiration ; moreover, on many passages of Holy Writ the divine influence need not have been immediate. A doctrine of intermittent light has never found approval from supreme authority ; but now and again some Eastern Father who did not welcome the allegorical method would glance towards it, while upholding the Church's true formulas. Even St. Ambrose ventures to say “the things written in consideration of human weakness, were not written of God”. St. Chrysostom allows minor discrepancies in the Gospels ; Theodoret is willing to sacrifice the letter at times ; the two Cyrils offer traces of Origen ; Basil goes so far as to describe the sacred writers, “who sometimes speak of themselves, sometimes express that with which God inspires them”. This view has been aptly termed a “dichotomy,” or separation of Scripture into parts, human or divine as

¹ Clem. Al., *Exhort.*, ix. ; *Strom.*, v. 6 ; Orig., *in Luc.*, xvii. ; *Contra Celsum*, iv. 48 ; vii. 4 ; *Philocal.*, i. 17 ; *in Joan.*, x. ; Iren., ii. 28 ; iii. 7 ; Aug., *Conf.*, v. 14 ; vi. 4, 5.

it may happen. No attempt was ever made to carry it out in detail. The *obiter dicta* quoted just now from Orientals do not represent the force of tradition; they are too scattered, too transient, nor can any stable theory be founded on them.¹

Schools of Exegesis.—Antioch, which in the earliest days of Christianity welcomed Barnabas and Saul, men who interpreted the letter by the spirit, was opposed to Origen, did not love allegories, and became a school of grammatical exegesis. "Judaism, being carnal in its views," we are told by Newman, "was essentially literal in its interpretations"; now Antioch, the birthplace of Arian disputes, from which Lucian, Paulus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the great Nestorian commentator, proceeded, bore some affinity with a like temper, and the train of heresies combated by Church Councils from 272 until 431 (Antioch-Ephesus) all move in the same direction. They are efforts to put reason in the place of faith. It was by the letter that Arians professed to go in denying our Lord's prerogatives. St. Athanasius, and all his followers, uphold a spiritual sense of Scripture which had been gradually revealed. Theodore limited the meaning of inspiration by the mind of its organ; he could not tolerate a deeper than man's intention. So prophecy to him became ethics; Messianic passages were understood exclusively of their immediate objects; the words of the Bible did not proceed from God. Canticles, Job, Chron., Ezra, were cast aside, as in their obvious character not divine. To such an excess did the merely critical handling of Scripture lead these Antiochenes. The Saints were, indeed, preserved from it; but a most remarkable anticipation of extreme Protestant (*i.e.* Liberal) views may be studied in Theodore and his heretical companions or successors.²

¹ Orig., *Præf. in Joan.*, 5; Ambrose, *in Luc.*, viii. 7; Chrysost., *in Matt.*, i. 2; Basil, *Adv. Eunom.*, v. 3.

² Newman, *Development*, 285-91; but see Cornely, *Introd. Gen.*, 611; and Farrar, *The Bible*, 71; *Hist. of Interp.*, *passim*.

Phases of St. Jerome.—St. Jerome's relation to the friends of Origen was peculiar and tragical, as is well known. He borrowed from that side his belief in "every sentence, syllable, jot, and tittle of Holy Scripture as full of meanings, and heavenly sacraments," *i.e.* mysteries. But, in later days, acquaintance with Hebrew and the school of Antioch modified his language. "Let my detractors understand," he cries, "that not the words but the sense of Scripture ought to be considered." He marked the differences in style which characterise the prophets,—not always happily. He said that St. Paul "could not expound the majesty of divine ideas in a speech worthy of Greek eloquence". His words touching history in the Bible have been often recited, "many things are said in Scripture agreeably to the opinion of the time to which the events belong, and not as the truth of the matter contained it". We have seen that he gives up the chronology of Kings and Chronicles. He seems to allow that the inspired writers did not always remember exactly what they were quoting from the Old Testament, and so the words vary in Apostolic writings. Athenagoras had spoken of the Prophets whom the Spirit used for His instruments, "as a fluteplayer breathes into a flute". There was another way of looking at the phenomena, which revealed the human agents as not simply passive but individuals with a genius of their own; upon this aspect critical scholars like St. Jerome could not choose but dwell.¹

St. Augustine and St. Thomas.—St. Augustine was not critical, and his trust in allegory enabled him to expound with almost equal force both terms of what may be thought our antinomy as regards inspiration. If the Bible was "God's handwriting," that one of its authors should lapse into error was not conceivable.

¹ *Ad Pammach*, 6; in *Isa.* *Jerem. Præf.*; *Ad Hedib.*; in *Jerem.*, v.; *Ad Vital.*, etc. Cornely, i. 633.

Yet they wrote not as machines but as men. Real discrepancies he cannot grant. Divergent points of view, tendencies which lead to special handling; imperfect representations of the ineffable; these are grounds by means of which to secure the "consent of the Gospels". He feels that "not even John spoke as the thing itself is, but as he was able; for though himself a man, his subject was God". To omit others, Augustine's language meets us again in the Angelic Doctor. St. Thomas allowed degrees of illumination, and ranked the prophets highest; he conceded no error in the Sacred Books; he recognised that inspiration need not take away the man's natural powers or throw him into ecstasy. Abelard, as in so many departments of the faith, so here leaned towards Rationalism; prophets and apostles, he would say, had sometimes been mistaken. But the Catholic doctrine was not affected by this or any other passing aberration. It always maintained that the writer of an inspired book could not err therein: that he was moved to write by a divine impulse, yet in the exercise of his will and intellect; that he set down no more and no less than the Holy Spirit commanded; and that his writing was adequate to the purpose for which it had been evoked. But since in aim it was not as the books of this world, Holy Scripture did not teach secular wisdom; neither in style nor contents might it be esteemed, says the Jesuit Cornely in striking words, "a heaven-sent compendium of sacred and profane history". Leo XIII. in his *Providentissimus Deus*, following St. Augustine, declares that "the sacred writers, or to be more accurate, the Holy Ghost who spake by them, did not intend to teach men those things (such as the physical system of the universe) which were in no degree profitable to salvation". Moreover, as St. Thomas held, they went by sensible appearances, used the customary terms, and wrote to be understood by their contemporaries. "The principles here laid down," concludes Leo, "it will be

well to apply in the cognate branches of knowledge, and above all to history.”¹

The Living Mind.—We have thus provided for us rules which cover both terms, the divine and the human, in that concrete reality, the Word of God written. Between the Spirit and the page a living mind intervenes, with its furnishing of ideas, its development, its freedom under guidance, its moral qualities or defects, its aptitude for literary expression or difficulty in finding words and phrases, its relation to times gone by, its apprehension of present and future. Always it is essentially a Hebrew mind, even when it employs the Greek idiom; and it moves along a beaten track, imitating the ancient prophets, quoting, arguing, compiling, not in accordance with our classic authors, not as the Western canons of reason or research would demand, but with an acceptance of the current information, a grouping of events from the hortatory point of view, an art which never becomes science. These things altogether make of the Bible for Europeans one book indeed, apart from their native literatures. Its subject-matter is religion, which the nations of the West have never been able to do more than rudely sketch for themselves; on the other hand, Israel could not achieve so much as the outlines of experimental physics or reasoned metaphysics; to seek either in its writings is labour lost.

Sons of Their Time.—The inspired penmen are children of their age, limited by its horizon, and project the unknown by shadows of that which they have seen. They do not guess that there will be a modern Europe. The Apocalypse has no direct message for continents undiscovered when it was given; St. Paul contemplates the Roman Empire as filling all the years until Antichrist shall be revealed. The Prophets who instruct us in social righteousness deal with Edom, Tyre, Egypt,

¹ Aug., *De Consensu Evang.*, ii. 28; iii. 7; in *Joan.*, i.; references to Aquinas in Dausch, *Inspir. of Scrip.* (German), 93-97; Abelard, *Sic et Non*, *Prol.*, Migne, P. L., 178, col. 1345.

Assyria, Babylon, never dreaming of those new peoples who were to rise up when the whole of that vast world should be sepulchred in its mounds of dust and sealed in its pyramids. We apply their teaching by a perpetual transposition; the spirit lives on while the letter may often seem a dead hieroglyphic. In this sense, too, the end of the Law was Christ. Only a spiritual meaning survives for Christians from the Hebrew Testament as a whole, though its human interest can never be exhausted.¹

Post-Reformation Views.—It was, then, singularly unfortunate that the revolt we call Protestantism went back to a "carnal interpretation" of those Books. The reformers sometimes disputed a text or an Epistle; but the immediate outcome of their practice was Bibliolatry. The Massoretic recension, with its modern equivalents, became "the Word," as if uttered from Heaven by a God who in form and speech bore the likeness of man, literally dictating the recorded syllables. Talmudist and Protestant agreed in making the Bible mean as much as it possibly could, by a species of *gematria*, "hanging mountains on a hair," says the Arabian proverb. True, there was something of this latter in St. Augustine; but he had returns to a more balanced conception, and he warned the faithful not to bring discredit on Holy Scripture by cleaving to its "rind of text" though sense and science were against it.² His admonition was echoed in St. Thomas. And neither Florence nor Trent exaggerated the scope of inspiration. Trent used the Bible to prove Catholic dogma, not as a substitute for earthly knowledge. Its decrees enlighten us concerning grace and the Sacraments; it has nothing to say about cosmography, biology, chronology. But orthodox divines as well as their opponents did very often tend to eliminate from their considera-

¹ Hummelauer, *Exeg. Inspir.*, 50-56, 71, 73; Cornely, *Introd. Spec.*, ii. 298, 299.

² Aug., *De Gen. contr. Manich.*, ii. 2; *De Consensu Evang.*, ii. 12, 28.

tion the human author. So, among Catholics, a theory of almost mechanical inspiration, called verbal, found numerous advocates—Salmeron, Maldonatus, Bannez, Estius and Suarez are quoted—to whom the mediæval sentence, “God is the author of Scripture,” appeared as meaning that the human instrument contributed only his pen to the page written by him. That such a doctrine is weighted with insuperable difficulties, some of our preceding chapters have shown.

Inspiration not Mechanical.—We must, however, carefully distinguish between the moderate forms of verbal inspiration,—all taking into account more or less what St. Jerome and other authorities had laid down touching difference of style or spirit in our Books,—and that extreme view, according to which the human organ was merely a channel for Divine utterance. No Catholic has in terms denied the modal influence of the Prophet on his message, not even St. Thomas, although he compares the sacred oracle to “the tongue of a child speaking words with which another supplies him”.¹ To do so would be parallel with such heresies as taught that Jesus was not incarnate of Mary, *sed per Virginem transiit*, to quote their expression. Corresponding in its degree with our Lord’s assumption of humanity (observe the qualification) it may be said that the word of God takes flesh and blood in the living instruments that proclaim or set it down for our remembrance. But the method of dictation fails to realise that the creature is still himself though docile to an impulse from Heaven. It breaks down when confronted with natural peculiarities of language, with variations in the same story told by different pens, with neglect of literal accuracy in quotation from the Old Testament by writers of the New; with genuine yet not identical readings of the *Pater noster* and the very words of Eucharistic institution; with acknowledgments of pains taken, sources consulted, and

¹ *Prolog. in Psalmos.*

apologies for imperfect success in rendering the original, which meet us in St. Luke and 2 Maccabees.

When St. Paul writes to the Corinthians (2, xi. 6) "Though I be rude in speech yet not in knowledge," can we suppose that he is pleading for indulgence, as if the Holy Spirit had been at the bar of judgment? Moreover, an exactitude in syllables, to be lost by heedless transcription, not to be preserved in the hundred tongues which have made the Bible their own, would have served no end, since in lapse of not many years it must have become obsolete. Providence has not guarded the sacred text from such variations as befall other books, in readings, grammar, punctuation, and even printers' errata. Examples are very significant. Can we be sure of the pointing in Romans ix. 5? Did St. Paul write "God manifested in the flesh," 1 Tim. iii. 16? Or St. John "the only-begotten God" in his Gospel, i. 18? Which is the true reading of Ps. cix. 4? And is 1 Jn. v. 7 an interpolation? These are all dogmatic passages, disputed not on *a priori* grounds, but after inspection of MSS. and versions. Their uncertainty is fatal to a stereotyped pattern of Scripture, and clearly we do not possess one. Let us allow, in consequence, that "the grandeur and extent of religious truth (in the Bible) is not of a nature to be affected by verbal changes such as can be made by time, or accident, or without treacherous design".¹ But if no permanent service was to be wrought by an inspiration extending to uniformity,—nay, if strictly speaking, no such uniformity existed in parallel narratives,—why lay stress upon it? Nature does nothing in vain; Grace will not have been given to be straightway lost beyond recovery.

Mechanical inspiration is, therefore, a dream, having no basis in the structure of our sacred books, and contradicted by their history.

¹ De Quincey, *Works*, viii. 264, an essay suggestive throughout, if read *cum grano*.

Sense not Words Directly Inspired.—It is usual to put in its place another system which we owe to divines chiefly of the Jesuit school, who teach that the sense of Scripture (*res et sententias*) is inspired directly, but that its expression, though secured from error, is left to the writer's idiosyncrasies. A good working hypothesis, until the deeper questions of criticism were started. To the Louvain professors, Lessius and du Hamel, in 1585, were attributed the three celebrated propositions: that (1) for a writing to be part of Scripture its words need not each and all be inspired by the Holy Ghost; (2) nor yet need the truths and statements in it (*veritates et sententiæ*) be immediately revealed; (3) and a book, such perhaps as 2 Macc., written by mere human effort without "assistance" of the Holy Spirit, might be made Scripture by the divine witness that it contained no falsehood. The University of Louvain condemned these propositions. Rome did not stir. As regards the third, we know it to be incompatible with what is affirmed in the Vatican decrees ("Dei Filius," cap. 2). The first and second were adopted seemingly by Bellarmine who is quoted for and against,—also by Mariana, Bonfrère, Cornelius a Lapide, all of the Society of Jesus; and by R. Simon, Calmet, Haneberg, as indeed by most modern theologians until a recent date. Cardinal Franzelin, whom the present writer venerates as his master in Rome, asserted them vigorously, though his views of dogmatic texts in the Vulgate brought him close to the more literal school. None of the divines above mentioned would have denied the inerrancy of Scripture. Hence their differences do not amount to much more than academic theorising. But they would equally have maintained that Scripture is inerrant *as* Scripture, (*sub hac formali ratione*, to borrow Franzelein's favourite expression), not as if a work of profane learning or a scientific treatise.¹

¹ *Man. Bibl.*, i. 46-60; Gigot, *Gen. Introd.*, 505 seq.

This comes out clearly in Bellarmine's correspondence regarding Galileo, where the current interpretation, though upheld, is seen to be provisional,—an admission which never could be dreamt of, had science or history in Scripture *per se* acquired the force of revealed truth.¹ Verbal inspiration was now commonly rejected, as Cardinal Mazzella relates. The hint of a dichotomy thrown out by Origen was taken up, and a certain human imperfection admitted in the language, no less than a development in the ideas of the Old Testament; but no error was granted by way of meeting objections. A "limited" influence this has been termed; but the Schools accept it as satisfying the definitions, *viz.*, "God the author of Scripture," inspiration "antedecent," and the Bible to be recognised as the "Word of God written". It is the ordinary view, free from censure, in no degree condemned by the Vatican Council or by Leo XIII. in his *Providentissimus Deus*. What the Holy See would never tolerate is a doctrine of "partial" inspiration, turning Scripture into patchwork and leaving the discernment between divine and human to private judgment.

"Plenary" Inspiration.—Since the phrase "verbal inspiration" is ambiguous,—for it tends to signify mechanical dictation,—it had better be laid aside. "Plenary" expresses all that its latter-day advocates would insist upon. Their position is set in a brilliant light by Lagrange, Loisy, and Ford. All Scripture and every word of it comes to us from the Holy Spirit, but through the created medium of the writer in his book. "To say," observes M. Loisy, "that God is the author of the ideas but man of their language; that God made the substance and man made the form; that God is the author in dogmatic and moral passages, while man is responsible for the history or the *obiter dicta*, would be to practise vivisection." And again,

¹ Bellarm. to Foscarini, April 12, 1615.

"The composition of the sacred volume was a supernatural work influenced throughout by the divine concurrence, so that nothing in it is of God apart from man, nothing of man apart from God". Thus all its elements are subject to inspiration, but all are likewise human. It is a "great Sacrament," where the inward grace penetrates and enfolds the outward sign. This view, which is found in St. Thomas, "*totum ab utroque*," has the advantage, apparently, of bringing into one large synthesis Incarnation, Inspiration, and all other energies which faith attributes to the same Holy Ghost.

Compatible with Human Weaknesses.—Then, argues Abbot Ford, give us the whole as inspired and we shall know that the divine influence must be compatible with everything we find in our original Bible. The writing is always a divine work; should it in this earthly form be imperfect, or the writer betray weakness and lack of knowledge, or verbal inaccuracies be pointed out, what follows? Merely that it has pleased God to suffer these things by a condescension which leaves His presence in the writing manifest. We are no judges *a priori* of what it is fitting the Holy Spirit should have put on record, nor of how it should be done. He is "greatest in great things, least in least". To distinguish may be to rationalise, and to wait upon science for the establishment of our faith in Scripture is unworthy of Christians.

But yet, concludes Père Lagrange, "since the writer used his ordinary faculties, that influence impressed nothing ready made upon his mind, not even the thoughts. . . . We may never affirm that God could teach error,—it would be a blasphemy—but we ought to be very careful about confidently concluding that a thing is fitting or unfitting." Once more, "God teaches nothing false, nor does He base Himself upon anything false as an essential element of His teaching. He is free to make use of our scientific or historical

ideas merely as a means of preparing our minds, even as He might direct our ideas to a given point by a comparison or a parable.”¹

Freedom of Opinions and Schools.—“Catholics,” said Dr. Weathers, the late Bishop of Amycla, “are under no sort of obligation to believe that inspiration extends to the words of Holy Scripture as well as to the subject matter which is therein contained.” By some divines, as Vigouroux, the caution is added, “except when a particular phrase, or even single word, is indispensable for the dogmatic meaning”. But, in practice, the exception is well understood. There is no revealed truth which would be so dependent on a text as to perish if its mere wording were altered,—otherwise, how translate in many cases? We may, therefore, take it that mechanical views are not favoured by the Church; that “plenary” inspiration is to be discussed on its merits, and is not binding; that degrees of illumination existed in the sacred writers, from a general superintendence which guarded them against failure as an instrument of the Spirit up to the loftiest prophecy; and that the criterion whereby to judge all stages of religious development in the Old Testament, as well as its exposition in the New, is the mind of Christ, or the living Catholic tradition. There is a true, an adequate, a universal influence of the Holy Spirit on Scripture and all its parts. Beyond this, we find no agreement as to its method among theologians. Neither Pope nor Council has defined the nature of inspiration, or its *modus operandi*, or its limit in the Bible, or its *intrinsic* difference from the grace of illumination and premotion by which men are enabled to perform supernatural acts generally. The *extrinsic* difference is known by its object.

The Tridentine Teaching.—We are told in the Vatican Council that the Sacred Books “contain Re-

¹ Loisy, *Chronique Bibl.*, Mar., 1892, p. 10; Dausch, *Schriftsinspir.*; Ford, *Tablet*, Jan., Feb., 1905; Lagrange, *Hist. Crit.*, 89, 91, 112.

velation without any admixture of error"; and by Trent that we must not interpret them, "in things of faith and morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine," contrary to the sense of Holy Church or the unanimous consent of the Fathers. The complex description laid down in this decree has given rise to argument; is it a limiting phrase, and are we allowed to dissent, as from the Fathers in things outside faith and morals, so in similar things from the writer of an inspired page? The Tridentine words are not *per se* dogmatic but disciplinary. In the Vatican Constitution, which renewed and explained their purpose, a positive formula was adopted, while retaining the full clause: "In things of faith and morals pertaining, etc., that is to be held for the true sense of Sacred Scripture which the Church has held and does hold". Thus far the exegete is bound, as he is by the consent of Fathers, within the lines traced. But is he free (subject to sound judgment and literary candour) outside of them? For, if he should be, it would seem that the inerrancy of the biblical author in these points was open to question, since they do not bear on Christian edification. Again, does this latter addition merely describe the "things of faith and morals," or does it mean such and such only as, in fact, have a bearing on the revealed system?

Beneath controversy which may appear simply formal, the issues are grave. Whether men are bound to believe every assertion in Scripture as belonging, somehow, to the Catholic faith strictly taken, or whether those statements alone are *de fide Catholica* which concern faith and morals, we leave experts to decide. The real point for consideration in view of modern criticism lies elsewhere. Must we affirm the truth of all things which the inspired writer avouches, not simply touching religion, but the details of history and human affairs? That is the question. It was evaded rather than met by saying, that if such details bear on the deposit they

are guaranteed from error, and if not, the Councils lay down nothing about them. This last declaration is correct, but it does not settle the matter in dispute.¹

Inerrancy of Scripture.—Fr. Nisius, S.J., maintained in 1894 from the Encyclical of Leo XIII., and in accordance with tradition, that all Scripture being inspired it is consequently infallible in every statement which it makes its own. How many and of what kind these are, it is for the exegete to determine by research, and for authority to set out on occasion. "The teaching of tradition," says Nisius, "excludes all doubt, yet the fact of minute and particular inspiration is not such as to have been often mentioned or solemnly affirmed by the Magisterium, like the divine authority of Scripture in general and as regards faith and morals." Some of the proofs quoted were, in his judgment, uncertain, pointing to the absence of a universal and constant persuasion. The words of Trent and the Vatican were not conclusive. Divines of unimpeachable orthodoxy had expressed their misgivings, or denied that there was any article of faith on the subject; and controversy had not been checked. Nisius concluded against the idea that we may dispute the inerrancy of Scripture. And herein the Schools all over Christendom would support him. In technical phrase, the veracity of Bible statements, whatever their subject, and of course interpreted by the proper canons of exegesis, was theologically certain.² Pope Leo XIII., indeed, teaches: "It is absolutely wrong to confine inspiration to certain parts of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer has erred. The system of those who do not hesitate to grant that divine inspiration regards nothing beyond matters of faith and morals cannot be tolerated."³ Though not a definition *ex cathedra*, these words make it impossible for an orthodox defender

¹ Bonaccorsi, *Quest. Bibl.*, 141, 148, 168, 175, 194.

² Nisius in Bonaccorsi, *supra*, 251.

³ Leo XIII., *Provid. Deus*.

of Holy Writ to solve its problems by giving up its inerrancy. The opinion of which Origen was, perhaps, the earliest Catholic exponent, is no longer, if at any time and in any degree we can imagine it to have been, tenable.

Limits of Inspired Statements.—But the same Encyclical which forbids us to suppose in Holy Writ statements of accepted error, goes on to say that its authors “did not seek to pierce into the secrets of nature; they described and dealt with matters in language more or less figurative, in terms which were commonly used, as they are to this day”. For “discourse properly tells us of that which falls under sensible observation, and, as St. Thomas puts us in mind, the sacred writers went by appearances, setting down the things signified by the Almighty in ways which men could understand, or to which they were used”. Formal error is, then, excluded; but, according to Catholic teachers we need not require in various Scripture-statements, and cannot expect, more than “relative truth”. In other words, “by virtue of inspiration all things in the Bible are not true in one and the same manner”. Truth of fact is not truth of parable; prose and poetry have their several modes; popular reports differ from scientific statements; ancient history was not fashioned upon modern rules; ethical teaching never aims at the photograph dear to Realism, and imagination transcends verbal accuracy; last of all, insertion is not simply assertion. These and the like principles, applied with judgment, on grounds intrinsic to the text and context, or suggested by historical survey, will, as orthodox opinion holds, meet the chief difficulties which we have to encounter. Inspiration assuredly does not bestow omniscience on its human subject; his thought must be finite, his expression borrowed from the language and the people that are his immediate concern. Add to this textual corruption, late and frequent editorial work, glosses from the margin,

transposition of leaves, loss of sentences,—all the accidents to which books are liable. We seem thus to have come in sight of St. Augustine's rule, "If in these books I meet anything which seems contrary to truth, I shall not hesitate to conclude that the text is faulty, or that the translator has not caught its meaning, or that I do not understand".¹

Better still is that other saying in the Confessions: "Mira profunditas eloquiorum tuorum, quorum ecce ante nos superficies blandiens parvulis; sed mira profunditas, Deus meus!" The utterances of Holy Scripture are a great deep. As on the lips of childhood, in a language of metaphors, by lowly symbol stooping to the world's rudest desert-folk, they reveal mysteries; but they mingle with high thought, as life itself does, things of every day, and by the story of a household or a tribe bring home to us how real is God's Providence. Inspiration enlarges the ripples that float upon the surface of time until they become a flood bearing Humanity onwards. From such beginnings has the universal religion sprung. When we view its amazing fortunes, well may we cry out to Him who has guided it and watched over its chronicle, "Thy way is in the sea, and Thy path in the great waters, and Thy footsteps are not known".

¹ Gigot, *Gen. Introd.*, 552, 555-57; Schanz, in *Th. Quartalschrift*, 1895, p. 188; Aug. ad Hieron., *Ep.* 82.

CHAPTER XII.

LITERAL, SPIRITUAL, ACCOMMODATED SENSE OF THE BIBLE.

The Hebrew Mould.—Scripture as an authority over the minds of men consists not in dead words but in divine sense; it is not Scripture for us except it be legitimately interpreted. The rules upon which we proceed in finding out what the Bible means are called Hermeneutics, and to set forth its meaning is exegesis. Like all human writings, it comes to us in a language the laws of which (vocabulary, grammar, rhetoric) are ascertained by use and wont. But as being Hebrew in cast of thought, nay, in general structure, even where the dialect is common Greek of a late and decadent period, no interpreter will be equal to it, unless he bears its Oriental, Western-Semite genius constantly in mind. Errors past counting have sprung from violation of this peremptory canon. Knowledge of Hebrew made St. Jerome the greatest among Latin commentators; the want of it led St. Augustine to employ his astonishing powers in speculations that avail hardly at all when we seek the true purport of Psalms and Prophecy, or would enter into the history of Israel. Here, as elsewhere, if we desire to understand, we must begin at the beginning; ideals are made real by stages and moments, or, in St. Paul's words (1 Cor. xv. 46), "That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; *then* that which is spiritual". The grammarian precedes, the critic follows, the divine (*i.e.* the Church teaching) delivers judgment.

Three Ways of Interpretation.—Many senses have been put upon Holy Writ; we bring them down to three,—the literal, typical and accommodated. By the literal we signify all that the words in their place and time, as Scripture reports them when the text has been certified, were intended on the writer's part, and under God's guidance, immediately to convey. The typical (mystic or spiritual) is a true but second meaning, which arises from the correspondences between persons and events, on a principle sometimes named Recurrence, due to the Holy Spirit, who has not only brought these things to pass, but in figure has suggested them beforehand, setting type against antitype, and leading up all to Christ. The accommodated, finally, is a religious application of terms and sayings in one part of Scripture to another, and more generally to life as by preachers or saints, on the score of a likeness detected between the inspired words and the events dwelt upon. From type to accommodation is a gradual descent; where either meets us in the Bible, its record certainly falls under inspiration. But allusions are not, strictly speaking, proofs; and we should be always careful to remember that Greek logic is one thing, and Hebrew another, which is rhetorical after a peculiar fashion of its own.

Halachah—Haggadah—Midrash.—We may connect these three "senses" (which ultimately derive from the literal) with Jewish terms by saying that the letter prescribes the Way (*Halachah*); the type blossoms into the Story (*Haggadah*); the accommodation branches out into the Meditation (*Midrash*). Origen, St. Jerome, and St. Thomas, who distinguish a triple significance, and St. Augustine who expands them to four in one place while reducing them to "letter and spirit" in another, do not contradict our position. But the subtle African Father would have brought in a manifold literal sense as intended by the Holy Spirit, and St. Thomas echoes him. Catholic usage does not adopt such principles; there is some doubt whether Aquinas really did

so, in spite of the passages quoted. "One word, one meaning," says Albertus Magnus; Alexander Hales tells us, "There is one literal sense, but in mystery there are manifold"; and St. Bonaventure, "one literal and principal meaning". St. Thomas himself: "These meanings are not multiplied as if a single word signified many things; but because the things of which words are tokens may themselves serve as tokens of other realities. Hence no confusion results; every sense is founded on the literal from which alone an argument can be drawn." The Angelical Doctor does not deny that the typical sense exists, or was intended; but with St. Jerome he maintains that "spiritual interpretation should follow the order of history," and in his view whatever might be proved from any hidden sense in Scripture can be demonstrated from its letter elsewhere. To the text, then, as such, we may well attribute with Newman, "that fulness of meaning, refinement of thought, subtle versatility of feeling, and delicate reserve or reverent suggestiveness which poets exemplify," and which cannot be excluded from our idea of a sacred composition.¹

Immediate and Remote Fulfilment.—But St. Thomas warns us that allegory will not convince unbelievers, though it be inspired, and so St. Jerome, "never can a parable and the dubious interpretation of riddles avail for the establishment of dogmas".² Christians, that is to say, believing already in a typical sense guaranteed by our Lord and His Apostles, receive such illustrations gladly; but those outside move the previous question. Yet prophecy fulfilled is a strong argument, wherever we can be sure of a real correspondence between the forecast and the event. In a great many passages the Fathers see literal, *i.e.*,

¹ *Man. Bibl.*, i. 273-90; Cornely, *Gen. Introd.*, 518-43; Gigot, *ut supra*, 387; Aug., *De Consensu Evang.*, iii. 27; Newman, *Development*, 289.

² St. Th., i. 1, 10; Jerome, *in Matt.*, xiii. 33.

immediate reference to our Lord's coming, to His cross and resurrection, to His reign as the Messiah, where modern critics find a term closer to the prophet's horizon, for example, David or Jeremiah. There is not, in principle, any rejection intended by the latter method of a typical sense going on to Christ; one fulfilment need not hinder a second, or a grander issue. But we should be very slow to remove the ancient landmarks. Unanimous consent of tradition, if shown, asserting such immediate reference of the words to our Lord, would be decisive for Catholics. Did the Fathers always, or generally, look at the problem in this light? Or did they take for granted and treat *per modum unius* the direct sense with all its intermediate applications intended by the Holy Spirit, fixing their gaze on the Messiah, who summed them up as *verbum abbreviatum*, their term and scope? Such would be the inquiry, at least in outline, when each particular instance fell under review.¹

Philonic and Neo-Platonist Methods.—It is well-known that allegory, allusive or secret meaning, was read into Homer by the Greek sophists during the age of Plato, for purposes apologetic and doctrinal. Socrates expended on it his shafts of irony; Plato, whom in his later works we may term a Puritan, holding the poets to a bare literal sense, banished their writings, though inspired by the Muse, from his Republic. The Septuagint, addressed to an Hellenic-speaking audience, when it softened the stark language of the original or turned anthropomorphisms into abstractions, took a way the reverse of Plato's, and opened doors through which men like Aristobulus and Philo brought in the double sense. Philo remains the great master of allegory. Unhampered by the Semite tongue which he did not know, favouring ecstasy and asceticism, he comes before us as the ancestor of Origen, but equally of

¹ Cornely, *Gen. Introd.*, 592; *Spec. Introd.*, ii. 302; Bonaccorsi, *ut supra*, 130.

the Alexandrian Neo-Platonists who despised matter, sought the transcendental in vision, and looked upon the senses not as aids but as hindrances to the soul's development. Origen leaned over and fell on that side. But the New Testament holds the balance.¹

Sobriety of N. T. and Catholic Dogma.—Our pattern in all these things is the Incarnate Christ, whose human nature was as real as it was holy. Therefore the spiritual intent of Scripture must be won through the medium of its letter and history, not by scorning them in a flight towards the Ineffable. St. Augustine is never willing to treat the text as what Germans have called *freie Dichtung*,—poetry without a foundation in fact; he sets up a higher truth, indeed, but his principle (often applied very loosely) is that we draw our moral from events which came to pass in the manner related.² And so the Western tradition now usual in commentators. Catholics are always reluctant to surrender the literal story, whether in Genesis or Job, in the Haggadic Esther, Judith, Tobit, or in Daniel and its appendices. If we reckon the typical sense to be distinct from the allegoric, and make it include terms both of which are objectively real, then we may say that our schools do not use allegory oftener than the evidence will permit. For them revelation and miracles,—inward light, outward manifestations of energy, all from God's hand,—give the answer to difficulties founded on science or other human records. And this appeal can never be laid aside; but the principle of parsimony (Occam's razor) is not thereby overthrown. That miracles are not to be multiplied without good reason is admitted. The universal inspiration of Scripture, though undeniable, leaves intact questions of literary kinds, historic sources, author's aim, and the degree of responsibility for statements which in a given case he assumes. To judge of these things we must

¹ Hastings, *D. B.*, "Allegory".

² *De Gen. ad Lit.*, viii. 1, etc.

look at the phenomena; by anticipation we cannot determine them.

Kinds of Literature in Bible.—All the kinds of literature practised among Orientals of the Semite branch are to be found in our Bible. It contains "old history," handled with freedom, legends and folklore, chronicles quoted and abridged, genealogies of peoples and settlements of races according to current views, anecdotes illustrating the qualities of heroic men, laws in every stage of growth and decay, proverbs, parables, apocalypses, poems, and speeches. It offers us biographies viewed under a religious light; apologues and meditative prayers; and in such books as Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, St. Paul's Epistles, St. John's Gospel, the principles of a theology based on reflection. This, however, does not easily shape into system, but proceeds by aphorism, is fragmentary, intuitive, and at last practical. We can hardly discern in Scripture the lines of pure speculation anywhere. Greek science is utterly foreign to it. The wisdom which it praises and cultivates has nothing in common with philosophy, even as understood by Socrates. To the Athenian, ignorance was the root of evil-doing; but to the Hebrew, disobedience. Where the philosophers talked of the nature of things, the prophet announced God's will and threatened sinners with His judgments.¹

Selective Inspiration.—In establishing the Religion of Humanity Providence went by selection; when giving its record Inspiration follows a similar method. The scheme begins and ends in terms which are real yet ideal,—the first Adam stands over against the second who is Christ. Between them comes the biography of Israel. Since, however, Israel moves in a world of struggling forces, and by means of them arrives at self-consciousness, at the heights of which are its prophets and the perfection of which is the

¹ Compare the *Protagoras* of Plato with Proverbs and Isaiah.

Messiah, an historical framework wherein it shall be located is necessary. To our abstracting mood, a race completely secluded, in charge of Revelation pure and undefiled, as a sort of divine mathematics, might have seemed requisite. But the laws of life are different from our imaginings; continuity which allows of specific approximation to a scope determined beforehand is God's way,—the struggle which is crowned with victory, but which cannot take place without garments rolled in blood (Isa. ix. 5). Selection, therefore, from the pre-existing elements, not only of race, but of ideas, laws, institutions, customs. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David, Isaiah and the Prophets,—at every stage we mark a more precise limitation, with greater depth of contents, until we reach the antitype in whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily (Coloss., ii. 9). That is the larger sense which lays a ground-plan comprising all portions of Holy Scripture and which rounds Genesis into the Apocalypse, every particular seeming to be from chance, yet the whole animated by one spirit. For if we transfer any book of the Bible into another literature, it will cry out to be restored whence it came; it cannot be isolated from its original source, or endure assimilation with profane writing.

This Method Determines Contents.—We might always have learned, merely by considering either Testament, that it sifted out from heathen knowledge whatever was not refractory to its purpose, and that religion was exclusively its concern,—religion embodied in the story of Israel. The method has determined the contents. Unless there be a revealed natural science in the Bible, every statement which it includes on physical matters will be traceable to the mind of each period,—to popular language and traditions. But even its religious ideas will be clad in forms derived from ancestry and environment. These constitute for Revelation the *phantasmata*, contingent and earthly, apart

from which it was not given. Israel came up through a world of antecedents, Babylonian, North Arabian, Egyptian, Assyrian; it was long in contact with Persians and Greeks; it fell under the Roman yoke; and its beliefs did not cease to affect Christian doctrine till a generation had passed after the ruin of Jerusalem. Such is the drama which occupies more than twenty-three centuries. When its first act begins Hammurabi has just written his Code. We watch its *dénouement* under Vespasian, Titus, Hadrian. By this time the legends and laws of Babylonia have yielded their place to Persian or Hellenic influences, and Rome is preparing a kingdom for Christ on its seven hills. In the library of Nebo at Borsippa those tablets had been stored up, on which were recorded the primæval cosmogonies that Israel was destined to cleanse from polytheistic error. Adaptation, selection, the guidance of a divine light over them,—if we refuse to admit that in this way the Hebrew worship of one God was planted into historical soil we have no key to Israel's triumph or the composition of Scripture. But granting so much, we understand why the Priestly Narrator begins his Book of Genesis with a story of creation in which the materials are clearly Babylonian; and why the prophetic account of Eden, the Fall, and Paradise Lost, should take us back to the country whence Abraham set out on his pilgrimage. Here is a sure beginning in time and place, with an indefinite but real background out of which to draw the true religious elements, correcting the false by God-given intuition.¹

Not Allegory but Development.—This method of interpretation, critical and historical, never losing sight of the Divine Idea that little by little dawned upon the inner sense of Israel, cannot but supersede the more ancient, by incorporating what was good in them severally. It seeks the literal meaning first of all. In the

¹ Compare and illustrate these positions in Hastings, *D. B.*, "The Religion of Israel" (Kautzsch).

sacred writers it leads us to recognise men who brought a deep monotheistic certitude to bear on the stories handed down from the past ; and who applied it, each in his own way, to the cosmic poems, catalogues of nations, incidents picturesque or romantic, that they wrought into an edifying tale. Their selection went largely by exclusion. No system of impersonal forces would have been understood in that pre-scientific age. The world was created and governed by Elohim or Jahweh, names of the one Supreme, not by the gods many and lords many of Babylonian myths. These were false gods ; Ea, Bel, Anu, Marduk, cannot be found in Genesis. And, from the first, religion was also ethics ; the law of God is holy and righteous. Whether we distinguish four principal authors in the Book of Origins, or ascribe the whole to Moses, we shall never light upon a passage where to be ceremonially exact is the sum of religion. Rude primitive conceptions we must allow ; but even in a story that betrays them, such as the sacrifice of Isaac, a better spirit gleams through the shadow and furnishes the moral. The irony peculiar to all great legend, wherein a knot is tied that it may be unbound (seeming injustice, undeserved misfortune, and the like), has its analogue in Revelation proceeding by stages. That which was once tolerated, or even matter of command, pales before the higher good, is condemned and finally cast out. But the faithful historian records it. He cannot do otherwise ; yet the instruction we are to gain may be avoidance, not imitation. Read for this principle St. Paul's sermon on the Hill of Mars, with his praise and blame of the "religious" Athenians¹ (Acts xvii. 22).

¹ Lagrange, *ut supra*, 60-80 ; 105 ; Hummelauer, *Exeg. Inspir.*, 14-24, 30-33 ; Newman, *Arians*, 78 ; Clem. Alex., *Stromata*, vii. 2.

CHAPTER XIII.

LAWS AND INSTANCES.

Antitheses of Old and New Testament.—It is only by slow steps that our divines, who started from the realised Idea or deductively, have followed the critics, intent as these were on describing what they found in lower and merely inchoate processes of its exhibition. But there had always been a feeling that in the Old Testament, especially as it went back to primitive periods, the literal acceptance could not be unqualified. When the Gnostics, like Marcion, set in parallel columns their “antitheses” of both Testaments, how were they to be met? Origen did not solve the problem by almost suppressing one of its terms. Nor did St. Augustine, who sometimes allegorised and sometimes idealised, in order to escape difficulties. The other school, represented by St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, and St. Jerome, enlarged the human element, granted as much as they could to the imperfections of language and sensible appearances, and thus far approached the critical method; but their observations were vague and general, nor did they reduce these hints to a system.

Story of Creation in Genesis: Basil, Augustine.—As for scientific problems, they did not trouble Easterns who, with St. Basil, took the first chapters of Genesis in their obvious literal sense. St. Augustine, by temper a Neo-Platonist, began his defence of the creation-story by writing against the Manichæans; but a larger view, as he thought, was expressed in his two subse-

quent tractates, *De Genesi ad Litteram*.¹ Here the opening chapter of the Bible is dealt with as recording a vision, or series of disclosures made in figure to the heavenly spirits; the history becomes a parable. As for the true creation, it took place in a moment, "simultaneously"; the six days were ideal representations which did not correspond with a succession in time.² But, on this point like so many more, the Augustinian theory stood alone. It was never condemned, yet found little favour. The common opinion of Fathers and Schoolmen reckoned a day of twenty-four hours, a week of seven such days, and the world animate and inanimate was brought during that period out of nothing into being. There could, however, be no dogmatic force in a consensus which, though numerically overpowering, had against it the sublime Western Doctor, and on his side the Angel of the Schools.³ A decision by authority on the subject has never existed, nor is one likely to be pronounced. In this controversy the importance of so marked a variation was negative rather than positive. We may judge the visions proposed by our philosophic Saints to be fanciful as any dream; but they served to keep the path open until critical science was ready. To deny the literal truth of 1 Genesis has never been contrary to tradition.

It is Prophetic, not Scientific.—Even if we read that story of the Six Days as Eastern Fathers were wont, it involves a revelation. To Chrysostom, Theodoret, Julius Africanus, Basil, Gregory, Nyssen, Moses appears to be a prophet; and Severian of Gabala compares him with Adam, since both learned in vision the secrets of God's working. Hence the last writer declares that the Hexaëmeron should not be taken for

¹ Hummelauer, *Nochmals der biblische Schöpfungsbericht*, 118 seq.; Aug., *De Gen. ad Lit.*, iv. 28.

² Aug., *ut supra*, iv. 41, 51, etc.

³ St. Thom., *in ii. Sent.*, Distinct, 12, 2.

mere history; it is a prophecy from the Holy Ghost, which Moses received.¹ Some modern Catholic writers have suggested a vision of Adam, told to his children, and so falling within compass of tradition for an inspired chronicler to set it down. This view consorts well with a system, largely prevalent among Christians of every shade, according to which a Revelation was bestowed on the first Man, and though dimmed by the Fall, never withdrawn from his descendants. In that light Adam, it is held, learned the secret of his origin and his consequent duty towards the Creator. Let it be remembered that, on any supposition, the editors of Genesis (J. E. P.) were composing a sacred history; that they repeatedly invoke divine communications by dreams, apparitions, oracular words, symbolic and supernatural utterances. Undoubtedly, in their belief, the father of our race was enlightened from on high touching his creation, his place among living creatures, his own nature, physical and ethical. He had a vision of the world around him (Gen. ii. 16, 19), and the sacred narratives would suffer no violence if we prolonged that divinely-given glance backwards until it included a knowledge (in figure and outline) of God's universal action, so far as it had a bearing on primitive religion.²

Formulas of Concord—Periodism.—One thing is sure; we cannot relegate to a secondary place the prophetic character which Genesis claims and exhibits. Either, then, we ascribe such elements to a tradition which connected the age of its writing with memories from an immeasurable past, or we are driven to explain them by later influences, thanks to which the inspired teacher sifted out of what was reported in "old history" its religious truth. Vision we may not altogether choose,—though it was certainly the form of all wis-

¹ References in Hummelauer, *ut supra*, 120.

² For objections to a "primitive revelation" see Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, *Lects.* i.-ii. But *cf.* *Wisd.* x. 1; *Ecclus.* xvii. 1-12; and the School-treatises, *De Gratia Adami*.

dom, earthly or heavenly, in the world's childhood; but prophecy we have no warrant for rejecting. So much, if it be granted, will enable us to decide whether we can accept any of the formulas of concord between the narratives in Genesis and the testimony of the rocks that flourished like Jonah's gourd, and like it withered, during the last hundred years, or whether we should frankly have done with them. There is perfect freedom on two conditions; the Church will not allow an imputation of mistake to be fastened on Genesis; and she upholds a doctrine of creation by the fiat of an ever-living, personal Deity, Whose will is goodness and His law righteousness. Diversity of exposition, leaving these truths intact, has reigned among theologians at all times, but especially since the discoveries of science inaugurated by Hutton and the geologists (1785).

These efforts, until recently, have aimed at a reconciliation of Genesis with scientific data by way of concordance. The literal system to which all Greek Fathers, not counting Origen, and all Western divines, except SS. Augustine and Thomas, had given their suffrage was abandoned. In general the six days became six periods of indefinite length, and each was imagined as the record of a series, corresponding to the gradual development which the cosmos underwent till man appeared. There was a "connection between science and revealed religion" amounting to agreement on these points. Moses had been taught the true succession of things from matter to life; he knew the history of organisms; he gave their order of creation as the fossil strata disclosed it. Endless and kaleidoscopic variations were elicited from these ideas. They may be studied in our text-books; but have now little more than historical interest.¹

Not Founded on Tradition or Science.—The con-

¹ Vigouroux, *Man. Bibl.*, i. 456-507 indicates principal systems and defends Periodism; Hummelauer, *Nochmals der biblische Schöpfungsbericht*, 51.

cordance proposed has never been allowed on its physical or biological side in the world of science. It seems to rest on a baseless theory of inspiration. It is hard to reconcile with the words of Genesis, if it does not decidedly contradict them. As a scientific explanation in every form yet devised it fails to satisfy the conditions; and the growth of historical criticism, reacting powerfully on general ideas, has gone far to discredit a doctrine according to which the inspired teacher of Israel, *aliud agens*, concerned with religion for his own age and people, should have consigned a system of geology to his text, there during thirty-two centuries to lie hidden, until profane investigation made it known. The analogy of faith, not furnishing a second instance, hardly seemed in its favour. Perhaps its greatest disadvantage was that it laid on religion the perpetual duty of inventing hypotheses on which scientific men were to pass judgment. Not so had the Gospel won its triumphs. Religion holds supreme jurisdiction in its proper domain. But here it was subordinate and bound to submit; for of its own knowledge what could it define in geology? The crucial case of Galileo had proved that Scripture-astronomy is the astronomy of appearances and popular speech. Why should its cosmology be different? The truth of the Bible is preserved, not by reading into it opinions or discoveries of an after-time, but by insisting on its message and the audience immediately in view. Concord between disparates was not required, but a clear apprehension of their proper scope and limits.

Certain it is that scientific authorities do not assent to the propositions which our reconciling school offers them, in detail or in general,—a fact which any textbook of palæontology will demonstrate.¹ And again, the views put forward have none of the characteristics which appertain to matters of faith. We discover in

¹ Huxley, *Science and Heb. Trad.*, 66 seq. ; *Essays*, iv. and v. in same vol.

them nothing fixed or settled ; the moment they quit the letter of Genesis they run out into suppositions which cannot be verified from Catholic tradition, written or unwritten, and which are always changing. No deductions in Bible exegesis can be founded on them, as in it they have no support. The physical problems involved are utterly beyond the competence of religious dogmatics. We may hold it inconceivable that the Church will ever pronounce under anathema that light was created before the sun, or *vice versa* ; that a certain succession of animal and vegetable life is *de fide* ; that the stars came into being after the earth was made ; or other propositions of a like tenor. The Bible statements ought to be dealt with in their text and context ; critically, and therefore religiously ; on modern science (which they do not contemplate) they throw not a single ray of light, and with them it is not concerned. Of course there are principles of Natural Theology that science is bound to respect ; when the biologist advances to man, he is dealing with a complex creature, subject to religion and in this way beyond his rule. But so long as physics and the cognate studies keep inside their boundary, Revelation in Church or Bible lets them alone. Such is the feeling that has prompted eminent commentators, who saw difficulties without issue in schemes of reconciliation, to declare against the system of days which were periods, and to turn away from questions of geology with all their details, as not contained in Scripture. For the solution of its problems they have employed critical methods and the history which lies beneath it.¹

Semite Cosmogonies.—Fragments of Semite cosmogonies have long been familiar to scholars. The Phœnician, derived by Eusebius from Philo Byblius,

¹Against concordism, Bishop Clifford in *Dublin Review*, April and Oct., 1881; Hummelauer in *Gen. and Nochmals der biblische Schöpfungsbericht*.

who is said by the Greek Father as well as by Porphyry to have translated the original out of Sancuniathun, may be read, though much mutilated, in the *Præparatio Evangelica*. The Babylonian, composed about 300 B.C. by Berossus, put into Greek by Alexander Polyhistor, but greatly corrupted, hung loose in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, who did not value what he quoted. These broken lights were regarded as of little or no account when, in 1875, George Smith made his famous decipherment of the Creation tablets, —cuneiform texts which presented in the lines of an epic poem such close parallels to Genesis that it became a question which was the prior group of writings, the Biblical or Babylonian. Other tablets exhibited resemblances in matter and style to the story of Paradise, the Flood (1872), the legend of Nimrod, and so forth. In 1887 the amazing find at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt of three hundred more tablets, mostly in the Assyrian script, dating from about 1400 to 1370 B.C., revealed that Babylonian ideas and influence dominated the period. Further additions were made to this correspondence at Lachish. It was clearly shown that Palestine lay within the sphere of these religious and literary traditions in the age assigned to Moses; while, according to the critical view of a late and composite Hexateuch, the same influence was beyond denial in its pages.¹

Parallels in Genesis—Their Date.—Nothing has occurred to weaken these assertions; on the contrary, all our information tends towards a result which may be stated thus: as the Christian religion sifted and took up into a higher synthesis the elements of Judaism, so did the religion of Israel adapt, under divine supervision, the cosmology, laws and other usages of Babylon, so far as they were compatible with

¹ Translat. of texts in Schrader, *K. Inscr.*, i. 1-56, E. Tr.; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.*, 63-71, 91, 101, 107-13; L. W. King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*.

the worship of Jahweh. In Gen. i. we are reading a purified form of this very ancient story, as one line of tradition gave it, no longer dedicated to polytheism, stripped of its mythological features, but recognisable still by its language and symbols. The particulars must be left for a commentary.¹ It is impossible to doubt the relation of Hebrew and Babylonian world-histories, or to grant that the Jewish are the more primitive. In point of redaction the narrative P. C. is junior to J. and E. by centuries. The first chapter of Genesis comes later than the second and third. How early the tradition, as distinct from its committal to Scripture, may be among the children of Israel, we have so far no means of deciding. But the probabilities are that it goes back to exceedingly ancient times. In any case, one conclusion stands out plain. We cannot resist the evidence that whenever and by whomsoever the Book of Genesis was written, its cosmological vesture already lay to hand in the circle of Assyrian beliefs. Guidance was needed to eliminate those ideas which a purer theology could not take up into itself. But the general view, as a cosmography, had long been current; and since Revelation does not teach that the earth is a flat disc, or that it rests upon a vast abyss, or that above it is a solid firmament, and beyond that a heavenly ocean, we must infer that these figurative concepts, once real to Hebrews and Babylonians alike, furnish only the media whereby everlasting religious verities have been taught.

St. Thomas on Truth of Gen. i.—Unless a divinely imparted science was to be given, what other method could have served the designs of Providence? A dispensation is of course conceivable, in which man would have been taught passively all human knowledge; but if that was not proposed, then, to speak about the origin

¹ Gunkel, *On Genesis*, may be consulted, though we cannot grant many of his deductions; also, Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*.

of things in Hebrew (whether in 1500 or in 500 B.C.) and not to make use of the ordinary language, involving the received ideas, was impossible. Those ideas, we judge, are but the outward form, to be carefully distinguished from the inward essence, of religion. Or, as St. Thomas declares concerning the origin of things, "it is part of the substance of faith that the world began by creation; and this all the Saints teach with one accord. But in what manner and order it was made, is of faith only *per accidens* (indirectly) so far as it is delivered in Scripture, the truth of which being secured, our holy men have expounded it in a variety of ways." Now, Gen. i. had its truth for those whom it addressed immediately in the sole manner which they could grasp; and for us it is true in our manner, which allows a religious significance most invaluable and sublime to its cosmology, but subordinates the form and whatever else is thereby implied to the scope, the age, and the environment of him who delivered it.¹

The "Toledoth" of Adam and Patriarchs.—System is not the Scripture way of handling great subjects. In Gen. i. a strophic arrangement has been detected; Gen. ii.-iii. are not so much a poem as a symbolical narrative which we can never deal with, in spite of St. Augustine, as though it were a history in the Books of Kings.² Neither scientific treatise nor baseless myth, we may compare the *Toledoth* of Adam, Noah, and the Patriarchs to those Northern Sagas which recounted in lofty words the story of the past. Clement of Alexandria and his followers would have us term "Economies" the picturesque or parabolic relations that, by incident rather than argument, lay bare man's heart and generalise the laws of life by means of types—Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Enoch and Noah. It is the ideal element in these *logoi* which religion

¹ *In ii. Sent.*, 12, 9, 1, ar. 11; S. T. Pars. i. 68, 1; St. Aug., *De Gen. ad Lit.*, i. 18.

² *De Gen. ad Lit.*, viii. 1.

brings out with so incomparable a charm ; but, of course, they are founded on history which the story-teller throws into focus, according to the custom of the East. All is personality with him ; but all is likewise symbol. God Himself becomes one of the *dramatis personæ*, in form and language like a man. This "condescension," which greatly exercised Christian minds later, and was a rock of offence to Grecian heresiarchs, seemed perfectly natural in the eyes of a Semite, for whom the divine manifestations were outward as well as spiritual. "The Old Testament does not proceed by abstract speculations," observes Vigouroux, quoting Theodoret in reference, no, "it simply tells us the acts of God." And it tells them pictorially, in short scenes which are apologues. What is the law of such a method? As in visions of the night, where everything takes a shape or a voice, distinct from the dreamer, we may call it "dramatic sundering"; the reality is made known by figures, not omitting even the Most High, each bearing its own character and significance. From Genesis to Apocalypse this rule does not vary. Hence we can feel no difficulty in applying it to the numerous theophanies, of which none is more human, as few have a deeper meaning, than the first in Paradise.¹

Paradise and the Fall of Man.—This beautiful sad story of Eden reaches us from the hand of the Jahwist, so moderns have shown. How much of a parallel to the Scripture narrative can be made out from the third Creation Tablet is disputed. But the description of the garden, the tree of life, the four rivers of Paradise, the cherubim and the flaming sword, are unmistakably

¹Hastings, *D. B.*, iv. 115, "Prophecy"; for Theophanies, read Gen. iii. 8, ix. 8, xi. 5, xv. 1-17, xviii. 1-33, xxii. 11, xxvi. 24, xxviii. 13, xxxii. 1, 24; Exod. iii. 2, xix. 18, xxiv. 10, xxxiii. 22; Josh. v. 13; Jud. vi. 11-23; 1 Sam. iii. 1-10; 1 Kings xix. 9-15; Isa. vi. 1-8; Ezek. i. 26-28; Zech. i.-vi.; Dan. vii. 9, x. 8; Matt. xvii. 1-9; Mark i. 10; Luke i. 11, ii. 9; John xii. 28; Apoc. i. 13.

Assyro-Babylonian.¹ To call in Zoroaster with his legend of the first man, Yima, does not appear necessary. Catholic teachers have long insisted that a doctrine of the Fall is everywhere hinted in myth and tradition.² Although, hitherto, strict resemblances to the story of Adam and Eve are not found among the cuneiform remains, the instances quoted above will demonstrate how surely Eden, in which their trial took place, had a Sumerian analogue. From earliest ages the interpretation of Gen ii. - iii. was matter of dispute among Fathers and theologians. All agreed in the religious dogmas of man's lapse from original justice under temptation, the curse laid upon him, the promise of a Redeemer. But the letter and the spirit were constantly set in opposition by allegorists, and defended as both true by literalists, among the latter being, in this instance, St. Augustine.

Details to what Extent Figurative?—Origen against Celsus (iv. 39) refers the whole to allegory. Upon which a recent French Bishop, Freppel of Angers, has remarked, "Origen certainly did not go beyond his rights when he explained in the allegorical sense what Genesis relates concerning the formation of Eve and the part played by the serpent. That opinion, revived by Cardinal Cajetan, though very bold, has not fallen under ecclesiastical censure. If the writer against Celsus had restricted his defence to the first chapters of Genesis, which are full of mysteries, we should not severely reproach him." Von Hummelauer, S.J., and Hoberg would consider the creation of Eve as shadowed forth in vision to Adam, "in a divine ecstasy," with which they compare Abraham's (Gen. xv. 12) and St. Peter's (Acts x. 10). As it is certain that the apparition of Jahweh belongs to the supernatural order, analogy bears out this view. Some admixture of parable can-

¹ See Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, and his comment on Gen.

² Vigouroux, *M. B.*, i. 526-30; *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes*, i. 259.

not be avoided, once we allow that the language of anthropomorphism requires explanation. And so Cardinal Meignan wrote of Gen. i.-x.: "We must not look in them so much for a precise history of the world and the race, but rather for the religious account (*la philosophie religieuse*) of that history. We certainly do not deny in these chapters the memories of historic facts handed down by tradition; but in relating them the inspired author has not aimed at mathematical precision; his main intention was to set in relief the ethical teaching they convey." Père Lagrange would distinguish in all such traditional stories between the "core" of truth and the "husk" of details.¹

Sources and Implicit Quotation.—Another interesting problem comes before us in the Jalwist summary of creation (Gen. ii. 4-7). Ought it to be reconciled with chapter i.—the Elohist description,—or left as a distinct "source" which needs no reconciliation? These doublets introduce a long series occurring at intervals throughout Scripture, often with differences of detail by no means insignificant. The practice among Christians was to undertake a tessellation (a Harmony) into which the narratives could be fitted. Recent authors have been disposed to fall back on the system of implicit quotation. Bible truth is respected, says Von Hummelauer, so long as we maintain that the writer made an honest use of his documents. Every historian depends on sources for those events of which he was not an eye-witness; if he gives the text as he finds it and indicates the reference (for examples, read Kings, Chron., 2 Macc.), or, anyhow, is manifestly weaving a narrative by compilation, truth for him signifies agreement with his *Pièces justificatives*. Others would allege that by setting down what he finds in the several sources and not passing judgment on them, an historian implies that he leaves the question of their accuracy without

¹ *Man. Bibl.*, i. 533 seq.; Hummelauer, in *Gen.*, 149; Lagrange in *Revue Bibl.*, 365, 368; Meignan, *De l'Eden à Moïse*, 102.

deciding it.¹ That writers do very often quote in this manner is abundantly clear; and that citation does not *eo ipso* give consent to what is cited every lawyer would grant. Nothing, also, is more remarkable in Scripture, as divines have pointed out, than the objective way in which the narration proceeds, so that we constantly feel uncertain how the inspired penman views his facts and persons. Phrases are taken over bodily from earlier documents into a context with which they do not agree; but we are left to our own reflection in such matters. What is to be said of all this?²

Late Roman Decisions.—A Roman decision, carefully worded, deals with "silent or implicit quotations" in Scripture texts. Can we hold that they do not carry approval from the sacred writer? "No," answers the Biblical Commission, "except in the case where, maintaining intact the sense and judgment of the Church, it is proved by solid arguments that (1) the holy writer does in fact rehearse another's words or arguments, and (2) does not approve or make them his own, so that he may be rightly deemed not to speak in his own name." The answer, it has been said, "leaves ample room and liberty for the labour of scholars, who consider the theory of implicit citations as offering the best way out of the difficulties against Biblical inerrancy. But it throws upon these students the burden of proving, and by 'solid arguments,' that the sacred writer made use of the work of others (a task which, for many cases, they will consider easy to perform); and furthermore (what is evidently much more difficult) that the inspired writer does not make the borrowed matter his own."³ Another Roman reply deals in like manner with "parabolic" history and its exegesis.

¹ Spinoza, *Tract. Theol.-Polit.* ix.-x., illustrates this position copiously.

² Hummelauer, *Exeg. Inspir.*, 2, 24, 59-65; Bonaccorsi, *Quest. Bib.*, 109, 115-24; Prat., *Bib. et l'hist.*, 56; Lagrange, *Hist. Crit.*, 103.

³ *New York Rev.*, July, 1905, p. 109.

Cases in which Applicable.—Under such cautions, therefore, would have to be interpreted the double story of the Flood, which presents striking analogies and contrasts with the famous eleventh book of the Chaldaean Epic, itself composed in the reign of Hammurabi from still more ancient poems. So too the seeming divergencies that meet us when we compare J. E. and P. C. throughout their course. The two stories of Joseph and his brethren, for instance; the “triple tradition” in J. E. P. of the Exodus; the different strata of laws in Pentateuch; the variants in Judges and Samuel; the life of David as set forth by Kings and Chronicles.¹ Again, the schemes of dates and genealogies in both Testaments. Lastly, the intricate problems of Gospel Harmony, which some authorities would decline to attempt, on the score that we do not possess adequate materials, may be affected by the demand for “solid arguments” whenever quotation of sources falling outside the sphere of inerrancy is brought to bear upon them. In any case, scholars like Père Lagrange and Père Rose would remind us that “given a variety of circumstances, variety in detailed accounts may always be looked for”. To what does a general pledge his word when he embodies such accounts in his bulletin, or a writer of history when he prints them side by side? Evidently, we cannot answer these questions except after studying the particular document; and the Roman authority makes that an imperative duty for all who undertake to explain the Scriptures.²

Oriental Conceptions of History and Nature.—Here must be registered the principle of “kinds” in Oriental writing, of which use is now made so frequently. In some degree recognised by the elder

¹ See “Flood,” in *E. Bi.* and “Exodus”; also “Ten Plagues,”—Sec. 2; and the other subjects in their places.

² *Revue Bib.*, Apr. 1905, for text of Roman decree; P. Rose, *Studies on the Gospels*, 283.

schools, but seldom consistently applied, it furnishes not merely the distinction between prose and poetical books, but a deeper knowledge of what history imports for an Eastern,—how it ranges from bare statements of names and pedigrees to popular tales of heroes and chronicles redacted on artificial schemes of dates, with a purpose going beyond the simple phenomena, but never a scientific one, as men now call it. “Whoso would form a sure estimate,” said the *Civiltà Cattolica*, “of the kind of truth which pertains to the several documents of the Old Testament must think, speak and judge as did an ancient Hebrew.”¹ To such an end he will make acquaintance with Jewish writings of every period, with Mishnah and Talmud no less than the sacred volume. For otherwise he may read his Bible as if it were a European, nay, and a modern book, expecting from it knowledge that its authors never had, and overlooking their genuine sense. Oriental poetry in Joshua’s address to the sun did not contradict Galileo; the numbers assigned to Israel in Egypt, to the battles of Judah and Ephraim, or to the return from the Captivity, are not our statistics; in another province, all the wonders related during the forty years in the Desert make no necessary claim to be miracles as we define them, *i.e.*, strictly supernatural occurrences. Our conception of laws of nature was unknown to the children of Israel; but it does not follow (quite the contrary) that their belief in a present ever-living God who watched over their pilgrimage was false. By comparing similar passages, observes Lagrange, we ascertain that the redactors did not scruple to modify their original text, thereby fitting it to shadow forth events under a fresh aspect,—“a proof,” he concludes, “that they composed with a free hand, not laying stress on what we should term his-

¹ *Civiltà Cattolica*, Jan. 17, 1903, 220-21; Cornely, *Intr. Gen.*, 582-84.

torical accuracy". Our interpretation must be level to their intentions; what they meant to say, they said. But the manner of affirmation is often not as ours would be; and sometimes it leaves a delicate task to the critic.¹

Thus, then, Canticles and Job, Jonah and Judith, Esther, Tobit, Daniel, are each true Scripture, not to be taxed with errors in their presentation (which the Vulgate substantially contains for us), but their kind of truth is to be discovered from their intrinsic scope and form of composition. The exegete does not fall back on a secret divine purpose, or pretend to argue from a knowledge of God's mind; he proceeds critically, by analysis, logical inference, and the other methods which would be available in any book belonging to the same category. Literature, unlike science, admits of endless degrees, to every one of which corresponds its own truth. The Fathers, who resolved difficulties by their spiritual sense, or by allowing for the appearances of things and popular opinion, or by dwelling on the gross and carnal fancy of the tribe which Moses had to instruct, came very near to this principle of "kinds" or of "literary intention". It now completes, chiefly on the historical side, a differentiation of the Bible which had already been introduced from Galileo's time onward, to meet the just demands of science.

Horizon and Progress in the Old Testament.—We may gather up its implications, which are numerous in every direction, under two ideas. The Books of Scripture have been composed in view of an *horizon* and by an instinct of *progress*. The horizon represents the inevitable human limit; the instinct is guided on its course by Divine Wisdom. Truth, so circumstanced, will always have been equal to the occasion which called it forth but never exhaustive of the future. It

¹ Hummelauer in *Exod. Levit.*, 84; in *Num.*, 221 seq.; Lagrange, *Juges*, pref. 37.

stands related as an active energy to the people for whom it was meant; and it necessarily required adjustment or translation when the period in which it first took visible form had come to an end. It was absolute as opposed to falsehood; as teaching it was relative and conditioned. Such should be likewise its interpretation, for the commentator who expounds the oracle must render its words and meaning faithfully. "If that first Covenant had been faultless," we read in the Epistle to the Hebrews (viii. 7), "then should no place have been sought for the second," but "in that He saith a new Covenant, He hath made the first old". Yet the religion of Israel came directly from God; its prophets and their writings were inspired of the Holy Ghost; but the Law had only "a shadow of the good things to come, and not the very image of the things". Once more (xi. 39, 40), "These all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect".

Good warrant, accordingly, we have from Scripture itself to discern the shadow as not being the substance, and in its books no less than its laws to distinguish the moments of a progress wherein that which was more ancient could not but fall short of the final stage.

And so we shall rightly deem that every part of the Old Testament was subject at once to infirmity and to a better hope. The successive manifestations of God which His names, after the Eastern fashion, seal and certify,—El, Elohim, El Shaddai, Jahweh,—were so many lights growing unto the perfect day when He became to men's thoughts that which in Himself He had ever been, the Eternal and Infinite Spirit transcending space, time, and motion, whose law is mercy and truth. Scripture begins with a theophany and ends with an Incarnation. As is the message, so is its record. From the Hebrew of Genesis to the Greek of the Fourth Gospel we move on step by step,

in a world the materials of which may be history, legend, adventure, human life under all its Eastern varieties, but where the governing motive that shapes and selects from them is the Revelation of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. The very difficulties of which we are sensible come from the higher point of view, the diviner vision, granted us. They are problems which the Scripture, if it were to be a story of progress, could not have escaped. It has created them by going on to perfection ; and our criticism does but prove that we are learning the lesson which it enforces.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHRIST IN THE BIBLE.

Not to Destroy but to Fulfil.—Science unfolds a formula ; history postulates a germ. The Old Testament passes into the New by advance upon all its lines,—the Covenants are none of them made void, for each is absorbed into the final one that more than realises its promise. Here we note our principle of continuity. Rendered as “from the same to the same” in a mechanical sense, it would possess no life. Religion never can be the “permanent identity of the undifferentiated,” for God reveals Himself in the world-movement to mankind, which is educated in its teachers first, and then in its multitudes.¹ Our Lord makes the great truth known (Matt. v. 17), “Think not that I came to destroy the law and the prophets; I came not to destroy but to fulfil”. The Pauline Epistles show us the method—there is a spiritual remnant, true Israelites, by whose preaching the Gentiles are grafted “contrary to nature into the good olive tree”; yet there is a fall and a loss of those carnal Jews who would not receive the Spirit (Rom. xi. 5, 12, 17). Hence, in Hebrews (xii. 26, 27) we are taught the result altogether, “Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven. And this word, ‘Yet once more,’ signifieth the removal of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.”

¹ Read with caution Lessing, *The Education of Humanity*,

Causal Ideas are more than Allegory—Instance, Sacrifice.—When we postulate a germ in history, we transcend the loose outward setting of type over against antitype which led the Alexandrians into mazes without issue. By allegorical devices, said their opponents, and still they say, anything can be made of anything.¹ But if we distinguish in our Bible between the causal idea and the institutions which successively embodied it, we can allow these to be shaken while that remains and is brought to perfection, so far as earthly conditions permit. Take, for instance, the law of sacrifice. Consider it in the Pentateuchal legislation, then in the Prophets, afterwards in Christ's willing acceptance of the Cross; and study the comments of St. Paul and St. John. First, we are in presence of a minute legal code (Exodus-Leviticus) full of burdens, as if nothing were more divine than the slaughter and burning of victims at the altar. Next we hear (Isa. i. 11, 13), "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me? saith the Lord. I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. Bring no more vain oblations." Then Jesus declares in answer to James and John (Matt. xx. 28), "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many". After that, St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23-26) quoting as he had received the words of our Lord, "This is My body which is broken for you; this cup is the New Testament in My blood"; and "As often as ye eat this bread and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till He come". Finally, in St. John we read (x. 11, 15), "I am the Good Shepherd," and "I lay down My life for My sheep"; as St. John Baptist had already signified, "Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world". The great Prayer of Consecration which the Evangelist reports (xvii.) is altogether sacri-

¹ Farrar, *The Bible*, 71; Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, v., lix.

ficial. Thus we are brought round again to the treatise which instructs Hebrew converts, and through them all succeeding generations, that by one supreme offering of Himself our High Priest has "entered once into the Holy Place, having obtained eternal redemption" (Heb. ix. 12). So the elder law passes away, but in the hour of its fulfilment, being made perfect, not made void.

The ritual passes, the spirit abides; and self-sacrifice, as the only method of attaining true life, becomes a universal axiom with Jesus for its instance and its proof. Every Christian offers his own body and senses to be the temple of the Holy Ghost; he bears the cross, dies on Calvary, rises with his Redeemer. This is not allegory but life, which brings forth after its kind. The prophets' denunciation of mere outward gifts, with no cleansing of the heart, finds an accomplishment when Jerusalem, the altar of the Lord, falls into fiery ruin; but the new Covenant which they yearned to see is established in faith, love, and holiness. Events, under the guiding Hand, have been so disposed that, on looking back, we cannot deny their connection as framed in view of the whole. It is an ascent, prefigured, marked out in stages, where all the parts in turn serve as means and ends.

Toleration of the Imperfect.—But the correlative of imperfection is toleration. Our Lord teaches that too (Matt. xix. 8): "Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so". Divorce, polygamy, slavery, the *lex talionis*, hatred of enemies, extermination of the heathen, and whatever in the Old Testament seems, though ethically defective, to have been allowed without censure, we thus explain to ourselves. The inspired author who relates such things in the mind which gave them birth, must be judged according to his lights, for he need not have been wiser than his time. When he ascribes to Jahweh the commanding of terrible deeds, we should remember that our distinctions between a

divine decree ordering and a permissive degree tolerating were but dimly present to the Eastern intellect. "If we take into account," says Coleridge, "the habit, universal with the Hebrew doctors, of referring all excellent or extraordinary things to the great First Cause; . . . and if we further reflect that the distinction between the providential and the miraculous did not enter into their forms of thinking,—at all events not into their mode of conveying their thoughts,—the language of the Jews respecting the Hagiographa will be found to differ little, if at all, from that of religious persons among ourselves". These words are applicable to difficulties which have in all ages troubled Christians and have been urged by the sceptical. Sacred history recognises what we term second causes, both good and evil; it may attribute the same action to man, to Satan, and to God, as in David's numbering of the people (2 Sam. xxiv. 1; 1 Chron. xxi. 1), thus bringing into play the various motives and personalities concerned. But all things at last it traces boldly to the one overruling Power (Isa. xlv. 1; Amos iii. 6). We do no less in our philosophy, which discriminates causes by a deliberate effort, but leaves no slightest accident outside the sphere of Providence. The difficulty may be heightened by Hebrew idiom; it cannot be eliminated from our thoughts or the world's course.

Moral Difficulties.—Even when we fasten on the letter of those prayers which are directed against enemies—whether Israel's or the Psalmist's own—there is a point of view from which we shall better understand them, if we reflect that nothing short of a Revelation anticipated by centuries would have made them impossible. The divine element which lies at their heart is an appeal to justice, rudely conceived, with violence in its expression, and often a lack of pity in executing its behests.¹ Could it well have been

¹ Cf. Sophocles, *Trachiniæ*, 809; Virgil, *Æneid*, vi., 529.

otherwise? Do men at our day, though Christians, never call in times of war upon the God of Battles? or, if we saw with our eyes what it is that they ask in their prayers for victory over the foe, should we think it very unlike the demand of a revengeful Israelite? To him every war was a Holy War; the heathen and their gods fought against his God; an undeniable fact, since the triumph of Chemosh or Hadad would have carried with it the disappearance of Hebraism.¹ Doubtless, we shall never cease to feel the shock when we read of those exterminating forays; and it is our duty to spiritualise the hard sayings which we meet in the Psalms. If the Law had "weak and beggarly elements" (Gal. iv. 9) in its ritual, so had it in its tribal morality; yet we have not quite solved the problem of Christian States and Holy Wars; nor is it so long ago since the Turks were to Europe as the Amorites to Israel, a religious menace, to be fought with prayers and the sword. Yet the forgiveness of enemies, which is not always absent from the Old Testament, remains our standard and ideal. In like manner St. Thomas would have us learn that praise of such heroines as Jael or Judith cannot overthrow the laws of truth, hospitality, or womanly reserve. Something in them had a semblance of greatness and that was enough for recognition by the sacred penman.

Transient Forms in the New Testament.—On comparing the different Gospels and the periods in the New Testament of Apostolic preaching, we note a similar process; transient forms are used as vehicles to be discarded—the synagogue as a school where Christ and His first followers taught; the seventy-two disciples; the speaking with tongues, prophesyings, and other extempore utterances; the development from the Twelve to deacons, presbyters, bishops; the reign or

¹ In the inscription on Moabite Stone, Chemosh is named as leader against Israel.

kingdom of God turning out to be the Church of the faithful. In that expectation of the Parousia which all believers shared, we see again the horizon, Messianic as with Isaiah, but now extended to the Second Advent, receding to the fall of Jerusalem and the break up of the Roman Empire. We need not dwell upon Millenarian dreams. Every chief turning point did, in truth, witness a fulfilment of what was promised ; the Christian Idea took to itself its great power and reigned ; but the letter found its realisation in ways not contemplated. Pentecost began the series, never to be finished till the consummation of the age, whereby Christ comes back, but in the spirit, to His disciples and leads them on towards the high mark of their calling.

Our Lord Revealed Himself by degrees.—But the most instructive example of a continuity which prevails throughout the Christian system, while it determines the full meaning that we seek in Scripture, is our Lord's revelation of Himself. Here, too, as in the previous Covenant, we track the divine process by the Names which are set upon it. Jesus of Nazareth is the human, the historical starting-point. We learn that this Jesus calls Himself the Son of Man ; yet He makes the Father known and is truly His Son. St. Peter confesses it, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God". In accordance with prophecy He is acclaimed the Son of David by the multitude ; yet again, for taking on Him the state and dignity of Messiah He is by the Sanhedrin sentenced to death. He dies, and still the Revelation gathers light. It inspires the Letters of St. Paul and grows out of them by a development which we follow from Romans to Philip-pians, into Ephesians and Colossians, until we ask if anything more can be affirmed than the Apostle has laid down in language that is ever adding to its dogmatic force. The Synoptists have already convinced us that Jesus was certainly true Man. But when we turn to them again at this stage, we discover that

without arrogance or impetuosity the gentle Teacher had claimed such privileges of wisdom, power, holiness, such freedom from the sins and passions of the race, that He appears to be the very Image of the Father whom He reveals. Those Gospels yield the essence of all genuine biographical writings about Him, which had preceded their publication. And they confirm on the solid ground of a testimony to facts, witnessed by the Primitive Church, that deeper doctrine of St. Paul.¹

St. John as Central Writer of New Testament.—Now comes the Fourth Gospel, to supplement and seal up the evidence. It adds, by Apostolic authority, much formal statement, but on a foundation laid in the simple story of Christ's life—which had been set forth beyond cavil and made sure through the Sermon on the Mount, the Parables, the Logia, that no uninspired pen could counterfeit. St. John is the centre to which the Synop- tists and St. Paul converge. He crowns the one group of writings, he sustains the other. He furnishes the link which binds our Lord and the Church together,—and thus the Fourth Gospel is typical and a wedding song for the New Covenant as the Canticle of Solomon was for Israel. He mediates between the extremes of Ebionite and Gnostic. He is last of Apostles and first of divines. Maintaining that the Logos became flesh, this great Evangelist interprets Jesus to all time, and by so doing completes the Scriptures that “bear witness” to Him. Wonderful how repeatedly that word falls upon the page! The manhood, but also the Godhead; “That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld and our hands handled,

¹ On “Son of Man” see art. in Hastings, *D. B.* For what follows, consult arts. on “Gospel of St. John” and “Jesus Christ”. Also, P. Rose, *Studies on the Gospels*, 150-206; Bonaccorsi, *Harnack e Loisy*; V. Hügel, *The Church and the Bible*; Schanz, *Comment. on the Four Gospels* (Germ.).

concerning the Word of life—and the life was manifested, and we have seen and bear witness" (1 John i. 1, 2). Under stress of the conviction which fills him, the beloved Disciple breaks down in his speech; but in its very stammerings it is all the more persuasive.

Jesus, Messiah and Logos.—For St. John knows that Jesus is the Messiah, and that He is the Logos—the wisdom and the power of God. All Scripture is illuminated by that heavenly ray. It shines in dark places, brings out their evil, discovers their good. The Ebionite knew Christ according to the flesh; but there his knowledge ended. The Gnostic would never own that Jesus Christ was come in the flesh; he dissolved Jesus into principalities and powers, until on one side was the Unknowable—the Deep of Silence—on the other a phantom crucified in appearance and no true man. These divergencies of error the Fourth Gospel cuts up by the roots. And in so doing, it gives us the norm, secure and unfailing, upon which we must interpret the whole Bible, if we would not go astray. To "dissolve Jesus" and to break the Scriptures into fragments, opposed or irreconcilable, are manifestations of the same false method. To see in Christ our Lord a mere Galilean peasant is the natural consequence of reducing the Old Testament to a human record, not inspired and not miraculous. The offence of the cross bears a strange likeness to the scandal which many have made for themselves out of words they had not rightly construed, or a toleration of the imperfect which they judged unbecoming in the Supreme. To such it may be answered, "I heard a voice saying, Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker? Behold, He put no trust in His servants; and His angels He charged with folly; how much less in them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust!" (Job iv. 17-19).

Theology Established on Scripture.—From the Prophets, interpreting the Law by a God-given revela-

tion, Israel through synagogue and priesthood received its Old Testament. From the Apostles its larger Canon passed on to the Church; and no book which now forms part of the Bible was finally acknowledged except in deference to their judgment, as the Christian tradition apprehended it. With our sacred books their religious meaning was handed down. In the text itself, devoutly preserved, though much of it seemed dark and something here and there difficult, a provision was made for better understanding when the world should be prepared. So long as every doubtful passage was referred to the judgment-seat of Christ, an imperfect instrument like allegory could do no lasting harm. The consent of Fathers is by no means a fiction. Amid ceaseless warfare those teachers wrought the lines upon which our creed has been elicited from the words of Scripture and the conscience of the faithful, gathered together in the Holy Ghost. Beautiful and majestic as a theory, binding all ages in one, never to be exhausted by meditation, that Creed has also proved itself a doctrine of life, apart from which there is no other wherein to put our trust. Israel waits for the Messiah; infidelity does not comprehend Him; the Church believes and adores.

The Sum is This.—Two quotations may sum up the whole matter. The first from St. Paul to Timothy (2, iii. 14, 16): "Abide thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them. . . . Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness." The second from St. John's Gospel (xx. 30, 31): "Many other signs did Jesus in the presence of the disciples which are not written in this book; but these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in His Name".

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